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THE GROPING HAND OF THE LAW:

OCCUPY ACTIVIST CECILY MCMILLAN, SEXUALLY ABUSED BY COP, CONVICTED OF FELONY ASSAULT ON COP

By A. Kronstadt

May 20, 2014

The burning hatred of the NYPD for the Occupy movement is getting one last moment of fulfillment as Cecily McMillan sits in jail on Riker's Island, serving a jail sentence for defending herself against an assault by Police Officer Grantley Bovell in Zuccotti Park (aka Liberty Square) on March 17, 2012.

McMillan's arrest took place on a night when hundreds of people had gathered
in the park to celebrate the six month anniversary of the beginning of the Occupy Wall Street [OWS] movement on September 17, 2011, when demonstrators set up an encampment in Zuccotti Park to protest the dominance of the financial interests based on Wall Street, located a few blocks away.

The original Occupy encampment was cleared by the NYPD in a pre dawn raid on November 15–16, 2011, in which all tents, Occupier's belongings, and the People's Library that had been operating in the park were seized and destroyed. Preventing a re emergence of the OWS encampment was an obsession of Mayor Michael Bloomberg's administration.

At the anniversary rally on March 17, 2012, when Cecily McMillan was arrested, cops were certain that people would begin to set up tents again if they were not immediately and violently dispersed. The aggressive prosecution of McMillan was another facet of this obsession with the Occupy Movement.

McMillan was convicted on May 5, 2014 of Second Degree Felony Assault on a police officer for hitting P.O. Bovell in his eye, causing a minor contusion, after a trial in which jurors were allowed to see only a grainy 45 second video which purportedly showed McMillan striking Bovell with her elbow.

On May 19, McMillan was sentenced to three months in jail by Judge Ronald A. Zweibel, who remanded her to Riker's Island without bail immediately after her conviction. The sentence handed down includes five years probation, as well as a court ordered "psychiatric evaluation."

As she already has about two weeks of "time served", which will be credited to her sentence, with "good time" applied [jail sentences in New York are reduced by one third, based on "good behavior"], McMillan will have to spend approximately another six weeks in jail. Meanwhile, Cecily's attorneys are filing an appeal on her felony conviction.

SELECTIVE PROSECUTION, SELECTIVE EVIDENCE

During the trial, Cecily's lawyers Martin Stolar and Rebecca Heinegg contended that McMillan jerked back reflexively after Bovell grabbed her breast violently, enough to cause a bruise, and that there was no intent to assault the officer. Although attempts to portray Bovell's inappropriate behavior as a sexual assault were limited by decisions from the bench favorable to the prosecution, Stolar and Heinegg emphasized that her actions were natural and instinctive in the case of any woman being grabbed in such a manner.

Stolar told the court, "This is the smoking gun in the case....she got grabbed and she hit. That's an accident." He also stated, in reference to the video: "It's been edited. It's not the whole thing." Assistant District Attorney Erin Choi admitted that the 45 second video clip was not the original video that was first retained as evidence at the beginning of the process, which was shared with the defense, but nevertheless, Judge Zweibel allowed that video clip as the main item of evidence at the trial. What the video, or at least the part of the video clip that the jury was allowed to see, did not show, was that McMillan had also been beaten and kicked by Bovell in his efforts to handcuff her, and that she went into a seizure after having her breast grabbed.

Cecily McMillan about to be arrested in Zuccotti Park, March 17, 2012

Not admitted into evidence was an extremely clear video recording, made by people in Zuccotti Park on March 17, 2012, documenting the events of that evening, including the seizure that Cecily McMillan suffered after having been manhandled by Officer Bovell. That footage also displays the indifference with which NYPD officers dealt with McMillan's seizure. In this video, a woman clad in the bright green dress that McMillan wore on that evening (St. Patrick's Day) flails her head over and over against the pavement before cops allow EMS personnel to intervene. This video also shows the violence by which cops forced witnesses, including those shooting the video, out of the area while Cecily was being carried off to a bus full of arrestees.

With the video evidence of police violence in Zuccotti Park on March 17, 2012 suppressed by Judge Zweibel, as well as that of Bovell's assault on Cecily, ADA Choi was free to depict McMillan as a faker and an "actress." Stolar objected that the judge's ruling restricting his presentation of videos of Cecily's arrest "is cutting the heart out of my ability to refute" that McMillan was faking a seizure to avoid being arrested. "I'm totally handicapped," he said.

McMillan's own account of the events of March 17, 2012 was that she was in the process of leaving Zuccotti Park, along with a friend who had accompanied her there, after a cop—someone other than Bovell—had insisted that she leave and, while sending a text to another person whom she was trying to meet, she felt a hand grabbing her breast, and was suddenly pushed to the ground. She maintains that she was not aware at this moment that the person touching her body was a police officer.

THE COP GIVES HIS "TESTI-PHONEY"

Bovell testified that he was drawn to McMillan because she was drunkenly arguing with a female officer, and that while "gently" trying to guide McMillan out of the park, he was suddenly hit in the eye by her elbow after hearing her yell "Is anybody filming this?" to someone in the vicinity. Choi's argument was that "Is anybody filming this?" was a drunken and boastful prelude to a deliberate assault on Bovell by Mcmillan.

As there were always hundreds of cameras particularly drawn to the excesses of police at Occupy demonstrations, McMillan's lawyers argued

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EDITORIAL

ON HYPER-GENTRIFICATION

By Jeremiah

In an interview I did with urban studies scholar and gentrification expert Neil Smith in 2011, just before his untimely death, he explained what he called the "third wave" of gentrification, or "gentrification generalized," which is nothing like gentrification of the past. Starting in the 1990s, he said, "Gentrification became a systematic attempt to remake the central city, to take it back from the working class, from minorities, from homeless people, from immigrants who, in the minds of those who decamped to the suburbs, had stolen the city from its rightful white middle-class owners. What began as a seemingly quaint rediscovery of the drama and edginess of the new urban 'frontier' became in the 1990s broad-based market driven policy."

Smith continued, "Almost without exception, the new housing, new restaurants, new artistic venues, new entertainment locales--not to mention the new jobs on Wall Street--are all aimed at a social class quite different from those who populated the Lower East Side or the West Side, Harlem, or neighborhood Brooklyn in the 1960s. Mayor Bloomberg's rezoning of, at latest count, 104 neighborhoods, has been the central weapon in this assault, but it was built on Mayor Giuliani's revenge against the public, as the cultural lever that wedged the systematic class retake into place."

THE HISTORY OF "GENTRIFICATION"

Gentrification, as a noted concept and a term, came to New York City in the early 1970s. While far from a citywide incursion, the first spores of gentrification touched down in a handful of neighborhoods on a handful of streets, setting in motion a long process that would continue and grow in the decades to come. In neighborhoods like Park Slope and Brooklyn Heights, and in parts of Lower Manhattan, the increase in college-educated residents spiked, but not their incomes—yet. All those freshly-educated and underpaid young professionals had come to the city armed with the potential for future earnings, and where they gathered together in crappy apartments below 14th Street, the rents slowly increased with them.

Throughout the 1980s, as they grew wealthier, many of those young people would come to be known as yuppies, and in 1988, during the anti-gentrification riots in the East Village, the slogan "Die Yuppie Scum" was born. With the 1990s came the beginning of a new era for New York. To some, it would be a Gilded Age. For others, it would mean the death of a once wildly creative, chaotic, and welcoming city.

SUPER-GENTRIFICATION

In 2003, British geographer Loretta Lees introduced the term "super-gentrification," defining it as the "Transformation of already gentrified, prosperous and solidly upper-middle-class neighborhoods into much more exclusive and expensive enclaves." She saw this "intensified re-gentrification" happening in certain parts of cities like London and New York that had "become the focus of intense investment and conspicuous consumption." Lees focused her paper on the brownstone neighborhood of Brooklyn Heights, site of New York City's first wave of gentrification. This time, in super-gentrification, it was the middle class being invaded by "a new generation of super-rich 'financifiers' fed by fortunes from the global finance and corporate service industries."

While I see Lees' super-gentrification as an aspect of hyper-gentrification, the two are not the same. Hyper-gentrification is much more widespread. Unlike first-generation gentrification, it doesn't target only faded neighborhoods with architecture that inspires rehabilitation, it infects the city as a whole, invading previously gentrified neighborhoods as well as poor, working class, industrial, and already bustling commercial districts. Utterly unflinching, it eagerly spreads into the most repellent parts of town, diving into toxic waste dumps, snuggling up to slaughter houses, planting luxury condo towers in sections that border on noisy highways, traffic tunnels, and train tracks. No part of the city is safe from the multi-pronged, ever-spreading reach of hyper-gentrification. It's big and it's fast. It moves at hyper-speed, packed with the power to completely and dramatically transform an entire neighborhood in no time. What might have taken ten to twenty years under gentrification, now takes only three to five. And everything in its way is expelled, by one method or another.

THE THIRD WAVE OF GENTRIFICATION

Neil Smith spent much of his career researching and writing about gentrification. As noted earlier, what I call hyper-gentrification he termed "gentrification generalized," or "third-wave gentrification," and his explanation of the phenomenon and its history—first published in 2002--is essential to understanding exactly how today's gentrification differs from the past and has evolved into a very different beast.

Gentrification generalized, according to Smith, is a product of globalization and neo-liberal urban policies, a return to the 18th-century brand of laissez-faire liberalism that assumed "the free and democratic exercise of individual self-interest led to the optimal collective social good" and that "the market knows best."

The generalization of gentrification began in the 1990s and was preceded by two previous waves of gentrification. In the first wave, as described in the 1960s by Ruth Glass, the agents of change were members of the middle- and upper-middle class; for example, men and women working as lawyers, editors, and small business owners, who purchased run-down brownstones in poor or working-class neighborhoods and fixed them up using their own "sweat equity."

Thanks to the powerful socioeconomic sway of their class (and race, usually white), they brought some real benefits to the existing community, like safer streets and improved schools. Many of the first brownstoners, as they were called, were socially liberal, even radical, and a bit utopian, wishing to live in harmony with other cultures. Unfortunately, their presence also caused the displacement of their less powerful neighbors. But the damage was limited.

First-wave gentrification was sporadic and marginal, without the powerful government and corporate backing needed to change the city as a whole. In the second wave of gentrification, through the 1970s and 1980s, the process took root, becoming "increasingly entwined with wider processes of urban and economic restructuring," says Smith. As it grew, opposition forces emerged to fight against it. This was the time when anti-gentrification protests flared and were quashed by a city government now deeply invested in "making the city safe for gentrification." In late 1980s New York, for example, the Tompkins Square Park riots ignited when the city tried to push the homeless from the park, and protesters pushed back, getting their skulls bashed by the NYPD.

Aside from just being bigger, what makes hyper-gentrification different from the old-fashioned kind? Smith posits five characteristics that distinguish third-wave gentrification from its predecessors. (1.) Intensified partnerships between the city government and private capital, "resulting in larger, more expensive, and more symbolic" real-estate developments. (2.) A "new influx of global capital into large mega-developments," as well as smaller neighborhood developments like luxury condos on the Lower East Side, in which, for example, Israeli developers are sponsored by European banks. (3.) Authoritarian city politicians and police working to crush anti-gentrification opposition. (4.) Outward diffusion--as prices rise at the city's center,

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AL GOLDSTEIN: 1936–2013

By Eric Danville

THE EYES OF AL GOLDSTEIN

For almost 45 years, if you lived in New York City, you knew the name Al Goldstein. He was founder and publisher of Screw magazine, and I'm surprisingly proud to say he was my boss while I served as his Associate Editor for seven years (gold watch territory when it came to staying power at The World's Greatest Newspaper).

The notorious sex tabloid earned him millions of dollars, nearly as many enemies and almost two dozen obscenity busts for obscenity (at a time when publications like Playboy and Penthouse were busy airbrushing the zits off their models and making the world safe for soft-focus sexuality). He pioneered public access cable television with his late-night talk show Midnight Blue, which started in 1974 and ran for almost three decades.

Illustration by Danny Hellman

If you didn't know the publisher of Screw magazine from experience—for which you could consider yourself lucky—at least you knew what he looked like: The fat, bearded face; the seemingly unstoppable mouth chomping a big Cuban cigar, when it wasn't locked in a death match with pastrami, pussy or a pint of Häagen-Dazs; the gut he had stapled to get his weight from 350 pounds to a svelte 175; and of course, the most famous part of his body, the real star of the cable access TV show Midnight Blue . . . his finger. More specifically the middle finger of his right hand, which he raised in salute to anyone who pissed him off for, well, sometimes no other reason than you pissed him off. But there's one part of Al Goldstein's body no one ever speaks about.

HIS EYES

Al Goldstein had beautiful eyes. They had an incredible expressiveness and power, kind of a combination of Crystal Gayle and Charles Manson. They could get you to do anything or say anything and were a much more reliable barometer of what he was feeling than his mouth or even that middle finger.

In 1992, Screw Senior Editor David Aaron Clark and I attended the Democratic National Convention at Madison Square Garden. Gaining admission to the Convention was easy—Goldstein made sure that all editors were credentialed with the New York Police Department—so the DNC couldn't really deny us entry. We weren't there to stir up shit or even cover the event, necessarily. But we were members of the Fourth Estate, goddammit, and if ABC, CBS and NBC could get into the convention, you had better believe Al Goldstein and staffers from Screw and Midnight Blue could get in too, for the same reason a dog licks his balls—because he can.

If we could get some editorial content out of the convention, even better—and I did. I saw comedian and satirist Will Durst in the hall, muttering to himself and staring at his wristwatch; he was timing a script he would be reading on-air for his coverage for Comedy Central, if I remember correctly. When he was done, I introduced myself as a fan and asked if he'd like to do an interview with Al on Midnight Blue. He accepted, and a few weeks later, he was at the Midnight Blue studios: a small, cluttered back room on the fourth floor of 114 West 14th Street.

I watched the interview unfold the way so many had before. For roughly an hour—the usual duration of what I called The Goldstein Probing—questions about Durst's career and his take on politics fought for journalistic dominance with questions about his dick size and pussy eating technique (Al was well-rounded, in more ways than one). Afterwards, I thanked Will for his time and asked how he liked the interview. He got a weird look on his face and told me that his wife could never see the show because Al got him to admit banging comedy groupies on the road—which he'd never copped to before.

"I couldn't help it, man," he said, shaking his head. "Al asked me the question, and I just looked into those eyes, and I had to tell the truth."

Screw magazine editorial meetings were more like a circus than anything else, because you were expected to perform, to show Al that you were earning your paycheck and, at the same time, keeping his life as easy and high-profile as possible.

During one meeting, I had an item that was much more related to the latter: My sister, an employee of Pace University (which she and I and Al and Screw's then-managing editor had all attended), told me that the drama department was presenting an evening of sketch comedy, and one of the skits would feature a spoof of Pace University's latest promotional video,

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RUBIN "HURRICANE" CARTER: 1937–2014

By Myron Beldock

When I first heard in 1967 that Rubin "Hurricane" Carter was convicted of the 1966 triple murders at the Lafayette Bar in Paterson, New Jersey, it didn't make any sense. I was a sports fan. I knew about Rubin's boxing career and it made no sense to me that a man of his stature and public notoriety would have walked into a bar and indiscriminately shot people. I didn't think about Carter again until the latter half of 1974 when New York Times investigative reporter Selwyn Raab inquired as to whether I'd be interested in representing Carter in his efforts to set aside his conviction and obtain a new trial.

I knew Raab because he and I had worked on a highly-publicized New York case involving George Whitmore, Jr. Nineteen-year-old Whitmore had been wrongfully charged in the early 1960's with three separate crimes: the rape-murders of two young women in their Manhattan apartment, the rape-murder of a woman in a Brooklyn building and the attempted sexual assault of a woman in her Brooklyn building alleyway. I had just finished about seven years of working to exonerate Whitmore in the last of those crimes. All three charges, particularly memorable because of false and coerced confessions and suppression of evidence, were ultimately dismissed. I wasn't looking forward to having another long crusade.

I learned that the two original witnesses in the Carter case, two persons with criminal records who had been breaking into a factory a block away from the Lafayette Bar when the shootings happened, had recanted their identifications of Carter and his co-defendant John Artis. Having in mind my strong original reaction to the news of the conviction—that it didn't make any sense—I agreed to meet with Rubin at a prison in New Jersey. As we talked for several hours, I was pulled into the case by his powerful personality and convinced by his analysis that here was another example, as the Whitmore case had been, of serious police and prosecutorial misconduct.

And so we started down the road, which I naively thought, with the recantations, would only last a couple of years. I was joined by attorney Lewis M. Steele, who volunteered to be John Artis's lawyer. We brought motions which resulted in the convictions being overturned by the highest New Jersey State Court. That court accepted our argument that the Paterson police had made a sordid deal with the two witnesses and had manipulated them, particularly one Alfred Bello, to provide false identification evidence in exchange for leniency involving pending charges against them and other promises of benefits related to their criminal activities. When the case was retried in late 1975 and 1976, Rubin and John were again convicted. I remember a meeting with our clients in a cold basement in the Passaic County Jail while Rubin and John were awaiting sentencing in 1976 as the lowest day in the case. Our spirits were weak, our prospects were dismal. Yet we took a hard look at ourselves and knowing that the convictions were unjust, we pulled up our socks and forged ahead.

After the conviction, Mr. Steele and I were joined as counsel by Leon Friedman, Esq., a professor at Hofstra Law School and a prominent federal practitioner. It took us until 1985 to establish once again that the convictions were wrongfully obtained—the result of the prosecution having manipulated

Illustration by Mac McGill

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THE GROPING HAND OF THE LAW:
CECILY MCMILLAN CONVICTED

Continued from page 1

that McMillan simply wanted to know if anyone was documenting the fact that a cop was grabbing her breast.

Bovell's "female officer" did not testify at the trial. When Stolar insisted that an effort be made to locate this officer and put her on the stand to corroborate Bovell's testimony, Zweibel ruled that the female officer's existence was merely a matter of fact to be decided by the jury and squelched that line of argument. When Bovell was questioned about the female officer's badge number, his answer was "I don't recall." He gave the same terse answer to every other question about the female officer and what it was that drew him in Cecily's direction.

Stolar managed to get in a few questions about Officer Bovell's participation in a 2011 Bronx ticket fixing scandal that led to the indictment of 17 cops and the disciplining of hundreds of others, including Bovell. Bovell admitted in response to Stolar's questions that he had made five traffic tickets disappear, including one issued to his father, and that he had been docked 25 vacation days and suspended from active duty for five days as punishment. Bovell also said that he "might" have fixed additional tickets. Bovell said that these things were "normal" and a "part of the culture of the department" and that "everybody does it."

JUDGE ZWEIBEL: SCOURGE OF OCCUPY; FRIEND OF GAY BASHERS

In addition to suppressing evidence, Zweibel imposed a gag order on Cecily's lawyers, a clear violation of their First Amendment rights, and placed the burden of proof on the defense, not the prosecution. He has been described by McMillan's defense committee as "a prosecutor in robes".

Judge Ronald Zweibel, who graduated from law school in 1965, is a member of the New York State Supreme Court, appointed in 2001 by NY Governor George Pataki. He is also a judge on the New York Court of Claims, appointed in 1987 by then NY Governor Mario Cuomo. His term with the Court of Claims runs until 2019.

In 2010, Zweibel presided over the trial of Driton Nicaj, who was ultimately convicted in three robberies on the Upper East Side, where the victims were selected because they were gay couples. Two gay men were seriously injured in the course of the crime spree, which took place during Gay Pride Week 2009. Zweibel dropped hate crime charges against Nicaj for hitting Joseph Holladay over the head with the butt of a firearm, stealing his wallet, and calling him a "faggot." Zweibel contended that calling someone a "faggot" while beating him up was "just typical trash talking" and that "the most natural inference that can be drawn from defendant's alleged statement is that he was motivated by anger." Zweibel ultimately sentenced Nicaj to only 45 days in jail for his entire robbery spree -- a violent gay basher receiving only one half of the jail sentence meted out to a peaceful female protester who attempted to defend herself from a perverted attack by a violent cop.

During the trial of Cecily McMillan, Judge Zweibel seemed singularly unconcerned about Officer Bovell's extensive history of excessive force and dishonest behavior, as well as the multiple complaints that had been lodged against him that very night in Zuccotti Park by protesters and people on the periphery of the protest. At one point, he threatened Stolar with a contempt charge if he continued to try and cross examine Bovell about several previous complaints against him for use of excessive force.

Zweibel's responses to prosecution objections against Stolar's line of questioning of Bovell reeked of prejudice against the defense. Stolar wanted to ask Bovell about a complaint filed against him on March 17, 2012, by Zuccotti Park occupier Austin Guest, who reported that Bovell had slammed his head into the window of a bus that was being used to hold arrestees removed from the park. The judge's justification for excluding this questioning was that Guest "must have been resisting," which was an illegitimate and uninformed conclusion of fact on the part of the judge, not a ruling on the relevancy of the question. Stolar then warned the judge that such a ruling from the bench could cause the case to be reversed on appeal.

Zweibel also suppressed all evidence concerning the context of McMillan's arrest and police violence on the night of March 17, 2012, which resulted in the city having to pay victims of police violence in Zuccotti Park that night. In December, 2013, Shawn Schrader was awarded $87,000 for being assaulted by police. In March of this year, Occupy activist Michael Primo was acquitted on charges of assaulting an officer after his lawyers provided video evidence that cops had fabricated evidence against him. All of this information was deliberately withheld from McMillan's jury.

Cecily McMillan's arrest on March 17, 2012.

OCCUPY'S NEW FOLK HEROINE

Even after her sentencing, and as her appeal is pending, Cecily McMillan's support network continues to grow. Not only have photographs of her injuries and videos of her brutal arrest and subsequent seizures gone viral on the internet, but members of the jury and even New York City public officials have expressed their support.

At a press conference on the steps of City Hall on May 12, City Council Member Ydanis Rodriguez said that those in the justice system who are going after Cecily McMillan want would be protesters to look at McMillan's case as "an example to all people who join protests." Rodriguez herself had been arrested in the vicinity of an Occupy protest near Zuccotti Park in 2011. She was joined at the rally by fellow Council Members Laurie Cumbo, Robert Cornegy, and Helen Rosenthal. Other speakers at the press conference compared McMillan to the members of Russian female punk band Pussy Riot, who served prison time in Siberia for protesting authoritarian president Vladimir Putin. (Noticeably absent from the press conference was City Hall's most influential occupant, Mayor Bill de Blasio.) On May 9, as she sat in the Rose M. Singer Center for women on Riker's Island, to where she was remanded by Judge Zweibel immediately after her conviction, McMillan received a visit from Pussy Riot members Nadezhda Tolokonnikova and Maria Alyokhina, who spent about an hour with her.

MCMILLAN JURORS EXPRESS REMORSE

In the days following McMillan's conviction, when she faced a possible seven years in prison, nine of the twelve jury members that voted to convict her appealed to Judge Zweibel to exercise leniency in his sentencing of McMillan.

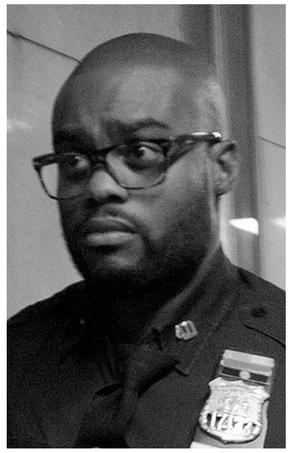
The first juror who came forward and spoke to British newspaper The Guardian said that there had been three holdouts for acquittal, including herself, but when other jurors caved in, she too voted for the guilty verdict.

Jurors often do not realize the power that they have when a case is turned over to a jury—bad laws can actually be nullified by the refusal of jurors to convict. A biased judge like Zweibel can phrase his instructions to the jury in such a way as to intimidate them into a narrow interpretation of even narrower evidence, but nobody can punish a juror for sticking to his or her conscience. It is a shame that those who did not believe Cecily McMillan was guilty succumbed to pressure in the jury room.

The text of the letter signed by the nine jurors and submitted to Cecily's attorneys reads as follows: "We the jury petition the court for leniency in the sentencing of Cecily McMillan. We would ask the court to consider probation with community service. We feel that the felony mark on Cecily's record is punishment enough for this case and that it serves no purpose to Cecily or to society to incarcerate her for any amount of time."

WHY IS THE GOVERNMENT DOING THIS?

Many are aware of the savage repression visited upon the Occupy Wall Street movement by the New York Police Department in the months following the establishment of the protest encampment in Zuccotti Park on September 17, 2011. OWS struck a nerve in the NYC ruling class because of the spontaneous way that it grew and because of the inability of the mainstream press to stop public opinion from turning in the movement's favor.



Police Officer Grantley Bovell

Part of the reason for the early success of the Occupy encampment was that they were breaking no laws. Zuccotti Park is a private park and the owners of the park did not request that police clear occupiers out. That was a decision made by Mayor Bloomberg and Police Commissioner Ray Kelly, who had a particular prejudice against OWS.

The NYPD's strategy with regard to OWS was to create an atmosphere whereby OWS participants felt in danger of arbitrary arrest. White shirted police commanders at OWS events would often burst into a peaceful crowd with contingents of cops and pick off one or more demonstrators for no apparent reason.

On September 30, 2011, police allowed and escorted a large group of OWS marchers onto the roadbed of the Brooklyn Bridge, whereupon commanders ordered the cops to charge the crowd. 700 people were arrested for blocking the roadway, which had already been closed off to allow for the march.

On the night of March 17, 2012, when Cecily McMillan was arrested, police were doing their thing again, substituting brute force for legal authority and grabbing some people out of the crowd while others were allowed to filter past them.

Anyone who attended OWS events knew that there was some statistical probability of being arrested just for being in a particular place or around a particular police commander. That was deliberate on the part of the ranking cops—the idea that you could be arrested for doing nothing was a deterrent to participating in these events in the first place, so the white shirted NYPD brass reasoned. You could be arrested and charged with "Disorderly Conduct," "Obstructing Governmental Administration" or "Resisting Arrest" for reacting to it in even the most basic way.

This is what happened to Cecily McMillan, and as the last Occupy defendant, she was targeted as someone who needed to be made an example of.

[A PDF of FREE CECILY, a gazette dedicated to Cecily McMillan's arrest and trial can be read at: https://nplusonemag.com/wp-content/uploads/2014/05/Cecily-gazette-press.pdf

You can send correspondence directly to Cecily at:

Cecily McMillan
Book & Case Number
3101400431
Rose M. Singer Center
19-19 Hazen Street
East Elmhurst, NY 11370

CLOSE POLICE SPY "FUSION" CENTERS THAT VIOLATE OUR RIGHTS!!

By RootsAction.org Team

WHEREVER YOU GO, WHATEVER YOU DO, WHOEVER YOU ARE,
YOU ARE UNDER SURVEILLANCE
BECAUSE YOU ARE A POTENTIAL CRIMINAL. PERHAPS YOU SECRETLY DOUBT THE SANCTITY OF CORPORATE PROPERTY, OR THE VALIDITY OF LAWS MADE BY THE RICH TO COVERN THE POOR, OR THE SOUNDNESS OF CAPITALISM ITSELF--WE CAN'T AFFORD TO ASSUME YOU DON'T. THAT'S WHY THERE ARE VIDEO CAMERAS POINTED AT EVERY CASHIER AND POLICE CARS CIRCLING EVERY BLOCK. LEFT TO ITSELF, A STATE OF DISORDER AND INEQUITY RETURNS TO EQUILIBRIUM; OUR JOB IS TO PERPETUATE THIS ONE INDEFINITELY.
DEPARTMENT OF HOMELAND SECURITY
"In suspicion we trust!"
www.crimethinc.com/supervision
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In at least 78 locations around the United States, the military, the Department of Homeland Security, the FBI, local police departments, private contractors, and commercial business interests have set up joint operations centers that routinely violate our rights by spying on nonviolent activists.

These "fusion centers," administered by state and local authorities and financed to the tune of hundreds of millions of dollars by the federal government and, in particular, the Department of Homeland Security, have been monitoring the activities of peaceful activists, irrespective of probable cause or the fact that the people involved are U.S. citizens. Evidently, Homeland Security considers any attempt on the part of those seeking to peacefully change our society to fall under the terrorist rubric.

The Occupy Wall Street movement has been a particular obsession of the people who run fusion centers, which include representatives of the FBI, Homeland Security, and local police. Lawyers associated with Occupy have obtained 4,000 pages of unclassified e mails detailing how fusion centers compiled information not only on the planning of protests, but on the social media activities of individual activists. The e mails mentioned no violent activities or threats of violence, but tabulated the locations and numbers of participants at dozens of peaceful vigils, meditation sessions, and teach ins, and even recorded information from mall security officials on literature tables set up by Occupy at shopping centers.

Documents obtained under the Freedom of Information Act have revealed that a fusion center in Houston Texas was involved in determining "whether Occupy Houston...had advocated overthrowing the US government." However, the FBI and Houston police had in fact obtained intelligence that a sniper was planning to target Occupy Houston demonstrators in 2011. Neither the cops nor the FBI made any attempt to contact members of the protest movement to warn them of the threat.

Protecting people doesn't seem to be the point. In fact, fusion centers have proven to be a distraction from that task. While failing to protect people at the Boston marathon, the local "fusion center" there spent countless hours spying on the personal communications of nonviolent activists. While failing to notice the online postings of a soon to be mass shooter in Santa Barbara, fusion centers on the West Coast have exchanged gigabytes of useless information concerning peaceful rallies and demonstrations.

Enough is enough. We need to end our foreign wars, and end the surveillance industrial complex that's come with them at home. Fusion centers need to be disbanded. They waste huge amounts of money violating our rights, involving the military in law enforcement, involving private companies in surveillance, and spreading war like secrecy and unaccountability into state and local policy decisions.

Restore our rights to speech, assembly, and protest. Close the police spy fusion centers now!

THOUSANDS OF ANTI-MONSANTO ACTIVISTS MARCH IN CITIES ACROSS THE GLOBE!
NO GMO'S
HELL NO GMO'S
AND YET THE CORPORATE CONTROLLED MEDIA IGNORED THE PROTESTS!
SENSATIONALISM, SCANDALS, INFOTAINMENT!
©Keith Tucker
WHAT'S HAPPENED TO FREEDOM OF THE PRESS?
WE BUY A GAZILLION ADS AND WE'LL OWN THE MEDIA!
BOUGHT AND PAID FOR!
"WHAT NOW?!" © KEITH TUCKER WWW.WHATNOWTOONS.COM

ON JURY NULLIFICATION

By David Segal

Since last year's tragic passing of Aaron Swartz, internet activist and my partner at Demand Progress, we've fielded countless questions about what conscientious people might do to reform the criminal justice process—one that has pursued the prominent prosecutions, and harsh sentencing, of hacktivists like Aaron, Weev, Barret Brown, Matthew Keys, and Jeremy Hammond; activists like Cecily McMillan; and, of course, untold thousands whose names never make headlines.

We think there's an answer: Jury Nullification.

What is jury nullification? By law, jurors have the right to vote against conviction not only if there is doubt about the defendant's guilt, but also if they believe the statute on which the prosecution is predicated is unjust, or has been unjustly applied.

Jury nullification has a storied history of use in service of the common good: to protect those found in violation of the Fugitive Slave Act for helping slaves escape before the Civil War; to defend those prosecuted for supposedly seditious speech acts; and in a quiet way, even today, in communities oppressed by unjust drug laws and other perversions of our criminal justice system.

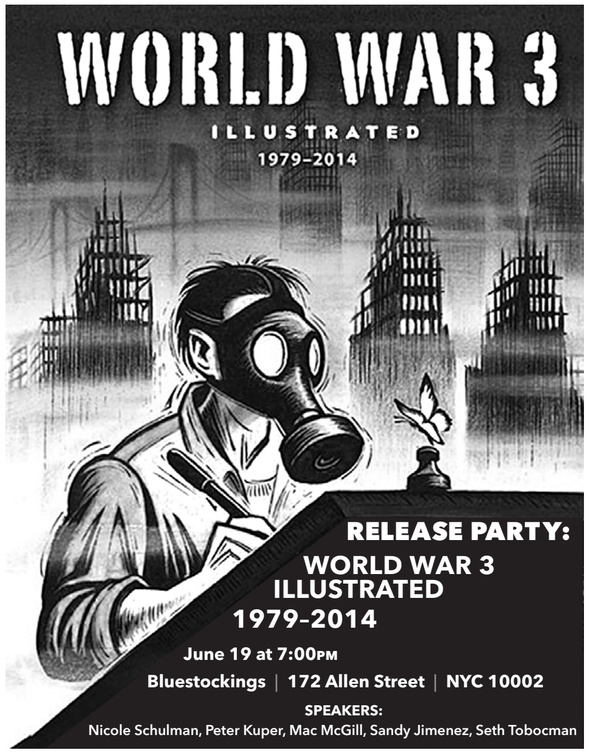
Some argue against this tack because white racists have employed nullification to acquit perpetrators of hate crimes. This has undoubtedly happened, but the federal government may intervene in cases where racism has obviously determined a verdict. And one must ask whether crimes perpetrated by individual white racists, or a system of laws and policing that currently incarcerates more than one million people of color, is the more dangerous problem.

Jury nullification places the burden of action on the jurors instead of the vulnerable defendant. Michelle Alexander, a law professor and author of the influential book The New Jim Crow, has encouraged accused people to decline plea deals, which are core to our current system of overly punitive policing. About 95 percent of felony convictions are the result of plea bargains. She writes that "if everyone charged with crimes suddenly exercised his constitutional rights, there would not be enough judges, lawyers, or prison cells to deal with the ensuing tsunami of litigation."

Alexander is absolutely correct, but her prescription forces the accused into a literal prisoner's dilemma—each accused must believe that tens of thousands of other defendants are willing risk harsh sentences by going to trial. Mass juror nullification would produce the desired outcome that Alexander describes, while placing the onus primarily on the jurors, who have nothing to lose. Thus, while the first impulse of many people called to jury duty is to wriggle free, conscientious people should instead pro-actively strive to be empaneled (without perjuring themselves, of course) to undermine unjust prosecutions.

Were six percent of the population to commit to practicing jury nullification, more than half of twelve person juries would include at least one potential nullificationist. The very reasonable chance that the accused would not be convicted would incentivize a decline in plea deals and a corresponding increase in jury trials, which could result in the resource strain and fundamental reorientation of the criminal justice system that Alexander seeks.

Vote to acquit. Save a life.



DE BLASIO, BRATTON, AND THE MANHATTAN INSTITUTE:

CONSERVATIVE POLICE STATE CREEPS STILL CONTROL NYC LAW ENFORCEMENT

By A. Kronstadt

The election of Bill de Blasio as mayor of New York has been presented to the public as a sea change after 20 years of right wing governance under the imperial leadership of mayors Rudolph Giuliani and Michael Bloomberg. De Blasio's now familiar left wing persona was little noticed during his four years as NYC Public Advocate. Indeed, de Blasio was elected to that post with endorsements from not so liberal Democrats, including former Public Advocate Betsy Gotbaum and former Mayor Ed Koch.

During his pre-2013 career, the future mayor was perceived as a close associate of Bill and Hillary Clinton. The press did not mention his student years as a supporter of the Sandinista revolution in Nicaragua, his honeymoon in Cuba, or the now well known ethnic diversity of his family, and we could have all been fooled into thinking that he was a practical centrist, like his mentor Hillary Rodham Clinton.

But were we being fooled then or are we being fooled now? During the summer of 2013, liberal billionaire George Soros endorsed de Blasio for mayor, and it was from that moment that Mr. de Blasio pulled up on the left flank of the pack, which was then led by City Council member Christine Quinn. It was then that he began, as front runner, to rake in contributions from real estate developers, including William Zeckendorf , Ben Shaoul, and Bruce Ratner.

Without money from New York's permanent government of landlord moguls, one gets elected to nothing in this city, and de Blasio's landslide victory attests even more strongly to his support from Finance, Insurance, and Real Estate interests, whose boats always end up being floated by any sea change in NYC. (The family of hedge fund guru George Soros himself donated the maximum of $13,025 to de Blasio's campaign.) Billionaire Bloomberg has faded into the background and Soros has entered the picture, but this has not altered the tidal forces in NYC—i.e., the big developers.

THE MANHATTAN INSTITUTE: POLITBURO OF NYC RULING CLASS

One of the surest signs that the permanent government of NYC is still firmly in the saddle with the new administration at City Hall is that the police state ideology of the Manhattan Institute is being touted even more explicitly under de Blasio than under Bloomberg, albeit perhaps less explicitly than under Giuliani.

The Manhattan Institute for Policy Research is a right wing think tank that expounds on the politics and economics of New York City. Two political positions that the Manhattan Institute is most famous or notorious for are opposition to NYC rent regulations and advocacy of pro active policing, focusing on minor offenses that, in the view of their pundits, create an atmosphere of disorder, which is the cause of more serious crime.

We at the SHADOW cannot help but point out the disturbing snobbery of both of these positions, which depict the little guy here in our city as the root of all evil. Not only don't we pay enough rent to satisfy the bastards, but our mere efforts to entertain ourselves by enjoying a beer or a joint are, in their minds, the true cause of crime.

The Manhattan Institute is the publisher of City Journal, a quarterly magazine that advocates free market polices with respect to real estate, as well as aggressive policing, including defense of the "stop and frisk" methods of policing that evolved under the Giuliani and Bloomberg administrations. The ideology of the Manhattan Institute is that the rich should have much more freedom and that the poor should have much less. It is not difficult to understand where this is coming from when we consider the people who run the Manhattan Institute and think up its policies.

The chairman of the Manhattan Institute's Board of Trustees is Paul E. Singer, CEO of Elliot Management Corp., described by the New York Times as "one of the most revered" hedge fund managers on Wall Street. Singer is a conservative Republican with a strange twist: he has donated upwards of half a million dollars to gay rights causes, particularly to the now successful campaign to legalize same sex marriage in New York City. Singer even came up with a conservative, pro family justification for the recognition of gay nuptials: it provides "family stability" when "the institution of marriage in America has utterly collapsed." Singer contributed heavily to the campaigns of George W. Bush and Rudolph Giuliani, founded a super PAC for Mitt Romney in 2012, and aside from his support for gay rights, is a genuine shit kicking Republican and pro Israel war hawk.

The rest of the Board of Trustees of the Manhattan Institute reads like a Who's Who of big time NYC investment managers. It includes Clifford S. Asness of AQR Capital Management, LLC, Timothy G. Dalton, Jr. of Dalton, Greiner, Hartman, Maher & Co., Ravenel Curry of Eagle Capital Management, LLC, Sean M. Fieler of Equinox Management Partners, L.P. , Kenneth M. Garschina of Mason Capital Management, Maurice R. Greenberg of C.V. Starr & Co., Inc., and Daniel Loeb of Third Point, LLC. These members are in addition to the more familiar conservative ideologues associated with the Manhattan Institute, especially William Kristol, a Republican pundit associated with the Reagan Administration.

Bill de Blasio and William Bratton

BILL BRATTON: BROKEN WINDOWS AND BROKEN PROMISES

de Blasio himself is not a member of the Manhattan Institute, which is explicitly a think tank of the Republican right. The nexus of connection between mayor de Blasio and the Manhattan Institute is Police Commissioner William Bratton. Many of those who voted for de Blasio against Giuliani crony Joseph Lhota were shocked when de Blasio appointed Bratton as police commissioner. Bratton was Giuliani's first police commissioner. It was under Bratton that Giuliani's "zero tolerance" policies were introduced and people were sent to jail en masse for marijuana smoking and public drinking. Although Bratton did not originate the term "stop and frisk," he is usually identified as the originator of "aggressive policing," as applied during the Giuliani and Bloomberg eras.

Bill de Blasio and Hillary Clinton in 2000

The year of Wilson and Kelling's original article—1982—was when president Ronald Reagan's trickle down policies were starting to kick in. In New York City, Koch was implementing his own adaptation of trickle down Reaganomics, in which neighborhoods and buildings would be made to pay for themselves via the displacement of low and middle income tenants from inner city areas and their replacement by urban gentry brought here from throughout the world by the promise of jobs in finance. The methods of displacement included erosion of rent regulations, one of the flagship policies advocated by the Manhattan Institute.

Koch was the first mayor to advocate heightened enforcement by the police of "quality of life" laws, pertaining to personal conduct such as public drinking and marijuana smoking. Such enforcement displaced poor people and their low classed behavior from the streets and created a more "respectable" atmosphere in which well to do newcomers do not have to be reminded that they share the city with "riff raff."

The connection between Bratton and the Manhattan Institute goes back to the time when Bratton was chief of the New York City Transit Police in the early 1990s under Democratic Mayor David Dinkins. Bratton was one of the first top police officials to embrace the "broken windows" theory of policing, which was first articulated in 1982 by Harvard sociology professor and Manhattan Institute luminary James Q. Wilson in collaboration with criminologist George L. Kelling, in their article in the Atlantic Monthly, entitled "Broken Windows."

The principles of the "Broken Windows" theory read like a moral primer for urban gentrification. The ideological package derives its name from an analogy proposed by Wilson and Kelling, whereby a building that already has several broken windows tends to create an atmosphere in which vandals are empowered to break additional windows. Conversely, "fixing problems early" leads to an atmosphere of order, in which the problems do not spiral out of control.

George Kelling became a consultant to the New York City Transit Police in 1985, under the Koch administration. Bratton describes Kelling as his intellectual mentor, and as top transit cop under Dinkins, Bratton introduced policies recommended by Kelling, such as zero tolerance for fare beating, which he touted as a means of heading off more serious crime in the subways.

At the beginning of his second stint as NYC police commissioner, in March of 2014, Bratton joined forces with Kelling for a survey of locations in NYC that they believed could attract homeless populations, such as subways and parks. Bratton and Kelling reported that they were going to ride the subways together late at night to see first hand what went on down there. Bratton said "...there is a concern that the disorder that goes hand in hand with quality of life problems, such as aggressive panhandlers, could return...".

In the months following Bratton and Kelling's tour of the subways,

Continued on page 22

THE STATE OF SURVEILLANCE TODAY

By Bill Not Bored

It was eight years ago that the Surveillance Camera Players (SCP) quietly disbanded. Over the course of their 10 year long existence, those New York based anarcho situationists managed to achieve their goal: to put the issue of the video surveillance of our streets and our lives squarely in front of the people—not in the form of petitions, candidates or press conferences, but directly, in the form of street theater, widely distributed, handmade maps of camera locations and walking tours that were always free and open to the public. The SCP also inspired the formation of similar groups in a half dozen countries in Europe, organized two international days against video surveillance (one in 2001, the other in 2002), and, in 2006, published a book that documented every aspect of their campaign. After all that, it was time to move on.

Since then, the Surveillance State has continued to grow. Here in New York City, several waves of new systems have been installed, with each one bringing more powerful (and expensive) cameras to our streets, subway stations and public housing units. As in Chicago and Washington, D.C., there is now a centralized, real time, computerized surveillance meta system at work. Its name is "Domain Surveillance" and it was developed in 2012 by the NYPD/CIA in conjunction with Microsoft.

With the SCP gone, has anyone else stepped up to continue the fight against publicly installed surveillance cameras? If so, how are they doing it?

Note that we are excluding from consideration the dozens and dozens of performance artists and installation creators who use video surveillance systems in their works, but who almost always choose to position themselves and/or their viewers in the role of the Detective (the one who watches) and never take the position of the Fleeing Criminal (the one who is watched). For that is the basic distinction made by the Surveillance State: between those who are in authority and those who are presumed guilty until proven innocent and thus tracked relentlessly. Any identification with the Detective, even if it is done "ironically" or in the name of keeping the other Detectives honest, recognizes the legitimacy of the police's authority and thus their power. No: real "surveillance art" doesn't seek to make people "aware" or "ask questions," but instead seeks to condemn and roll back these unwanted intrusions into our privacy, these violations of our right to be left alone, these technological supports for a "democratic" fascist State clearly in the making and partly in operation.

Need an example of bad surveillance art? Between June 11 and June 14, the New York Live Arts Theater on West 19th Street will be hosting the Zvi Dance Company's performance of "SURVEILLANCE." What is the purpose of this multi media spectacle? To examine "how and why as a society we consent to this technology in our private lives." But, of course, "we" have done no such thing: "this technology" has been rammed down our throats, and we've been told it is for our own good, when it plainly is not.

The following groups and projects are more in tune with the reality of what's been going on. This isn't an exhaustive list; simply a sampler of approaches and options.

In 2009, Nuno Rocha, a young Portuguese filmmaker, made a wonderful six minute long film titled 3 x 3. Without any dialogue, it depicts the interactions between a thin and awkward menial worker who is tasked with sweeping the floor of a basketball court and a fat and self confident security guard who watches him via a sophisticated video surveillance system. The beauty of this film is that, at the end, the worker motivates the guard (we won't say how) to abandon his post and join the worker on the court for a game of one on one. Nice idea: there is no need to destroy the watcher's booth if there's no one inside it.

The Surveillance Camera Players performing in Times Square

Also in 2009, Adam Harvey, a Brooklyn based artist, started to design, produce, exhibit and sell "Stealth Wear," which, in the words of his Privacy Gift Shop (I kid you not), is "a collection of garments that shield [the wearer] against thermal imaging, a surveillance technology used widely by military drones to target people." The prices of these items are ludicrous or at least way beyond the means of the average person. The cheapest one, a simple cotton T shirt with the image of "a predator drone" (made out of "thermally reflective" "silver plated fabric") applied to it, costs $40, while the most expensive one, an "Anti Drone Burqa," costs $2,500. There's also an "Anti Drone Hijab" that costs $550 and an "Anti Drone Hoodie" that costs $350. It isn't just the sky high prices that are offensive: it is their pairing with people whom the entire Western world considers to be second class citizens, if not sub humans: Muslim women and young black men (Trayvon Martin, for example).

Harvey has also designed a series of hairstyles and makeup designs that he calls "CV Dazzle" (these "style tips" are designed to "dazzle" and thus confuse the "Computer Vision" of video surveillance systems that are equipped with face recognition software). The problem here isn't so much the pretentiousness and ugliness of the proposed styles and designs (authentic punk beats haute couture punk every fucking time), but Harvey's naïve belief that "once computer vision programs detect a face, they can extract data about your emotions, age and identity." Here he isn't relating facts, but the corporate propaganda distributed by the makers of those computer programs, which are in fact notorious for their inability to function as advertised.

Compare this, um, ironic hipster bullshit with the recent work (circa 2014) of the Chicago based artist Leonardo Selvaggio. Like Harvey, Selvaggio ("savage" in Italian) produces items that their purchasers can use to protect and defend themselves against surveillance cameras. But unlike Harvey, who advises his clients to "avoid wearing masks as

they are illegal in some cities," Selvaggio makes masks (both prosthetic ones and paper cutouts). In an odd twist, these masks bear very good reproductions of his own face upon them. He sells them at cost.

Much in the style of the old SCP group are the Surveillance Camera Dancers, a project created in April–May 2011 by the Menifee Lab Theater, which is affiliated with Mt. San Jacinto College in Alameda, California. As their name indicates, these performers dance in front of the cameras. Their performance "Never Alone" included both choreographed dance moves and placards with blunt phrases such as "Who is watching Big Brother?" written on them.

Earlier this year, there was a protest in San Francisco against Google, which systematically photographs and displays images of virtually every single public place on the planet, collects and stores huge amounts of data about the people who use its services, and shares all of this data with the U.S. government and its intelligence gathering agencies. At this protest, which briefly prevented the departure of the special buses that take Google employees to work, one of the protesters dressed up as a surveillance camera on stilts. A big improvement over the harmless performances in front of Google's "Street View" car that were organized by the artists Robin Hewlett and Ben Kinsley in May, 2008! The point being made by the person on stilts was clear: surveillance cameras are both an integral part and the most visible manifestation of a rapidly emerging, data obsessed, fascist State.

But does it make sense—is it effective—to fight against fascism with cultural tools such as films, articles of clothing, and street theater? The Chinese artist Ai Weiwei doesn't think so, though the device he claims to have invented (a can of spray paint attached to the top of a long pole and triggered by a pull on a string) was actually invented and actually used many years ago upon billboards by Earth First!

Some people in Berlin, Germany, don't think so, either; that's why they organized last year's "Camover Competition." The rules were simple: assemble an affinity group; adopt a name for it that begins with a revolutionary and ends with either Command, Brigade or Cell (example: the Guy Debord Brigade); videotape your group destroying as many publicly installed surveillance cameras as possible; and then upload that videotape to the Internet. The competition was a tremendous success. Not only did several groups in Europe and the United States contribute videotapes, but the very idea of the competition caused a scandal in the press, as well.

LAP DANCERS, THE CIA, PAY OFFS, AND BP'S DEEPWATER HORIZON

By Greg Palast

"There was CIA involvement through a company called Mega Oil. They were shipping in arms under the cover of oil tools."

April 17, 2014

The BP [British Petroleum] executive was explaining to me how the CIA, MI6 and BP engineered a coup d'état, overthrowing a nation's elected president who was "not favorable to BP." The corporation's former vice president, Leslie Abrahams, is pictured above, holding an AK 47 in front of BP's offices in Baku, Azerbaijan. Like most of the other BP executives I spoke with, he proudly added that although he was working for BP, he was also an operative for MI6, British intelligence.

This conversation, which took place in 2010, was far from the weirdest I had in my four continent investigation of the real story of the Deepwater Horizon.

The BP oil rig blew out on April 20 of that year, four years ago.

In March, the Obama administration officially OK'd BP's right to resume drilling in the Gulf of Mexico. A few days after lifting the ban, just to assure the company that all is forgiven, the U.S. Department of the Interior gave BP a new contract to drill in the Gulf of Mexico—right next to where the Deepwater Horizon went down. At the same time, the forgive and forget U.S. Justice Department has put the trial of David Rainey, the only BP big shot charged with a felony crime in the disaster, on indefinite hold.

BP operative Leslie Abrahams with AK 47 in Baku, Azerbaijan
Photo by Greg Palast Investigative Fund

The Deepwater Horizon blowout incinerated 11 men on the rig and poisoned 600 miles of Gulf coastline. What political fairy dust does BP keep in its pocket to receive virtual immunity from the consequences?

To understand what really happened in the Gulf of Mexico, and how BP became a corporate creature beyond the reach of the law, British television network Channel 4 sent me on an investigation through a labyrinthine fun house of bribery, lap dancing, beatings, WikiLeaks, a coup d'état, arrests and oil state terror.

I found the cause of the tragedy of the Deepwater Horizon 7,000 miles from the Gulf in the ancient city of Baku, the Central Asian caravan stop on the Silk Road.

The literal source of Soviet power until 1991, Baku has been exporting petroleum for 3,000 years. As the Soviet Union shattered into pieces that year, BP set its sights on the city. It is now the capital of the new nation of Azerbaijan, which sits atop the biggest untapped oil field in the world, right beneath the Caspian Sea.

A COUP FOR BP

In 1992, then BP Chairman Lord Browne flew into Baku as soon as the young state elected its first president, Abulfaz Elchibey. Former British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher joined him via the "Iron Lady," a plane the corporation outfitted especially for her. At a state dinner, Browne handed Abrahams, a BP vice president at the time, a briefcase and showed him the contents: a check for $30 million. Browne then gave the check to the president of Azerbaijan.

Still, the new president remained "not favorable" to BP's demand for control of the Caspian oil, so MI6, the CIA and the corporation went into action. The spy agencies armed and empowered former Soviet KGB chief Heydar Aliyev, who in 1993 overthrew Azerbaijan's elected government. Once he became dictator, Aliyev named himself president for life and within four months signed a no bid deal to give the reserves to BP.

BP and MI6 man Abrahams was instructed, he told me, to "smooth the way" for the deal by taking Azeri officials to London in Browne's jet for weekends of lap dancing and other entertainment. By Abrahams' own estimation, he paid over $3 million in additional cash bribes to make certain BP would have no trouble.

I should note that Abrahams broke no law: Bribery by a British subject was legal then. BP executives did not deny the payoffs when I questioned them directly, and MI6 officers proudly confirmed the coup's purpose of locking in the offshore deal for BP.

QUICK DRY, QUICK KILL CEMENT

What does this have to do with the blowout of the Deepwater Horizon?

This: It is now well established that the disaster occurred when the cement used to cap the well failed, allowing explosive methane gas to fill the rig and transform it into a sinking fireball.

But this was not BP's first cement failure and explosion. Just 17 months earlier, BP's Caspian Sea Transocean rig had suffered exactly the same fate.

The cause of the two blowouts was identical. In the Caspian as in the Gulf, BP laced its cement with nitrogen gas. The nitrogen bubbles sped up the drying of the mixture, saving BP half a million dollars a day on rig rental charges. But in offshore high pressure zones, nitrogen spiked cement can fail. And it did. Twice.

Question: Why in the world was BP allowed to use this insanely dangerous "quick dry" cement just after a failure in the Caspian?

Answer: A cover up—via threats, beatings, arrests, bribery, perjury and the complicity of the U.S. State Department.

Greg Palast and crew under arrest in Azerbaijan
Photo by Greg Palast Investigative Fund

I learned of the prior blowout only because of a coded message from the Caspian Sea received from one very nervous eyewitness. To get the evidence, I flew to Baku and headed across the road less desert to find more witnesses.

But we had been ratted out. My crew was placed under arrest by Azerbaijan's secret police. Although officers demanded our film, I was allowed to keep my pen, which was actually a hidden camera. (I've learned a few things from Maxwell Smart.)

How do you keep a monstrous blowout from going public? As one of the arresting cops told us with odd pride, "BP drives this country." It drives it with cash. Robert Ebel, former chief of oil analysis for the CIA, estimates that at least $140 million in payments by BP for Azeri oil has gone unaccounted for. Where did it go? Notably, the Aliyev ruling family lives like pashas despite the president's official salary of $100 a month.

Oil worker advocate Mirvari Gahramanli said she was beaten by police for raising questions. In case I doubted it, she showed me photographs of a dozen cops slamming her with long clubs.

What's worse, while I was tossed out of the country (it would have looked bad to throw a TV reporter into a dungeon), my witnesses disappeared.

WIKILEAKS AND OILY LIES

Just five months before the Deepwater Horizon spill, Rainey—BP's vice president for Gulf exploration—testified before the U.S. Congress that the company had drilled offshore "for the last 50 years in a manner both safe and protective of the environment."

BP's testimony was a lie. The Caspian rig had blown out a year earlier.

But the lie was good enough for Congress. Based on Rainey's assurances, legislators pressured the Department of the Interior to drop objections to plans for drilling in the Gulf's deep waters.

Withholding information from Congress is a felony. But Rainey has one heck of a defense: The U.S. State Department was in on the cover up.

Deep in the pile of confidential State Department cables released by one courageous U.S. soldier, Pfc. Bradley (now Chelsea) Manning, we have the notes from a secret meeting between the U.S. ambassador to Azerbaijan, Anne E. Derse, and the chief of BP's Caspian operation.

The hugger mugger was demanded by BP's American partners, Chevron and Exxon. The U.S. oil companies had complained to the State Department that they were no longer getting their piece of the Caspian loot and BP wouldn't tell them why. (You'll remember that Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice was a member of Chevron's board.)

In the memo, which you can see in our film "Vultures and Vote Rustlers," the U.S. ambassador provides the details of the blowout of the bad cement on the BP rig.

The State Department kept schtum (quiet) about it, not even warning U.S. safety regulators. And Exxon and Chevron's chiefs joined BP's Rainey in the mendacious sales pitch to Congress, testifying, despite their knowledge, that their offshore drilling methods were as safe as a game of checkers.

Justice is not always abused: Rainey was indicted on a felony charge of obstruction of Congress. However, the charge centers on a relatively minor falsehood: his alleged understatement of the amount of oil bursting into the Gulf. Neither Rainey nor BP will be tried for the deadlier lie to Congress—the prior blowout caused by the penny pinching quick dry cement—because the U.S. government is itself complicit in the cover up.

BLOWBACKS AND BLOWOUTS

And that's why we are seeing the red carpet rolled out for BP in the Gulf once more.

Continued on following page

The Deepwater Horizon rig in flames
Photo by Greg Palast Investigative Fund

Deepwater Horizon

Continued from page 8

When the U.S. government participates in the corruption of other democracies, when it authorizes bribery and ignores police state tactics to benefit from business deals, the sins of empire can come back to haunt the nation. In the CIA's world this is called "blowback." What was covered up in Baku has killed Americans in the Gulf, and it will likely continue to kill.

And bribery does not simply stay "over there." American officials are not as different from the Baku bandits as they may like to believe. The agency in charge of regulating BP's drilling in the Gulf, the U.S. Minerals Management Service, was rife with watchdogs who, like their Azeri counterparts, took backhanders and payouts from BP. And when I say BP was in bed with the regulators, that is not a metaphor: A BP lobbyist was reportedly sleeping with a chief of the agency.

Don't bother sending Rainey a file in a cake: The BP man won't get two minutes of jail time. His trial has been suspended indefinitely.

Immunity from law is not new to BP. As I reported last month, BP was the main culprit in the disaster caused by the Exxon Valdez grounding. The company walked away without paying a dime to the victims. In the case of the Deepwater Horizon, a few tenacious attorneys have ensured the corporation pays some compensation in the Gulf. But that money comes nowhere close to the damage it caused and will do nothing to harm the company's bottom line.

THE OIL IS STILL THERE

Today BP has declared Gulf waters clean, as if Mother Nature were just a toilet you can poop in and flush. But I've been to the Gulf shores. Dig down 10 inches in the shoals off Gulfport, Miss., and you'll hit Deepwater Horizon crude. Biologist Rick Steiner told me BP's poisonous sludge will remain just under the surface for another 40 years. Hidden—just like BP's crimes.

25 YEARS AFTER EXXON VALDEZ, BP WAS THE HIDDEN CULPRIT

By Greg Palast

March 24, 2014

Two decades ago, I was the investigator for the legal team that sold you the bull shit that a drunken captain was the principal cause of the Exxon Valdez disaster, the oil tanker crackup that poisoned over a thousand miles of Alaska's coastline 25 years ago, on March 24, 1989.

The truth is far uglier, and the real culprit—British Petroleum, now BP—got away without a scratch to its reputation or to its pocketbook.

And because BP's willful negligence, prevarications and fraud in the Exxon Valdez spill cost the company nothing, its disdain for the law, for the environment and for the safety of its workers was repeated in the Gulf of Mexico with deadly consequences, resulting, two decades later, in the Deepwater Horizon disaster.

Just this month, the Obama administration authorized BP to return to drilling in the Gulf.

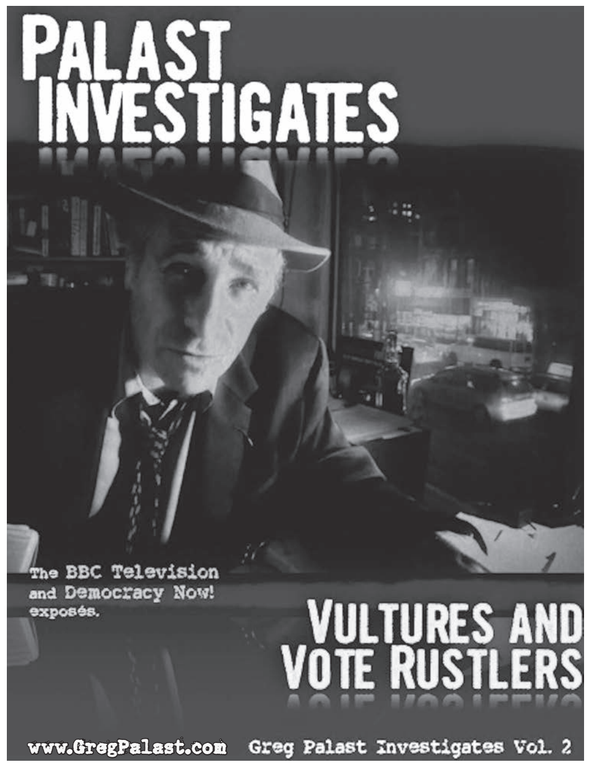
It would be worth the time of our ever trusting regulators to take a look at my Exxon Valdez BP files. They would see a decades long pattern of BP's lies, bribes and cover ups that led, inexorably, to the Deepwater Horizon blowout—and that continue today within BP's worldwide oil operations.

Here is a sample from my files on BP from the original Exxon Valdez fraud and racketeering investigation:

FRAUD NO. 1: THE EMERGENCY SUCKER BOAT FRAUD

Containing an oil spill—preventing spilled crude from spreading to the shore—is not rocket science.

As the principal owner of the Alaska Pipeline and Terminal, BP, not Exxon, was designated by law to prevent oil spilled by the Exxon Valdez from hitting the beach. It was BP's disastrous failures, more than Exxon's, that allowed the oil to devastate Alaska's coast.



To contain a spill all you need are rubbers and suckers. It works like this:

If a tanker, oil rig or pipe bursts open, you surround it with a giant rubber skirt known as "boom." Then you suck the oil out through vacuum hoses on board special "containment" ships. The containment ship, which lays out the boom and skimmer hoses, is the firetruck of oil spills. You simply don't let tankers out of port unless a containment ship is ready to roll. It's against the law.

But the law has never meant much to BP.

In May 1977, as the first tankers left Valdez, BP executives promised the state of Alaska that no tanker would leave port unless there were two containment barges at the ready and loaded with boom, with one placed near Bligh Island.

In fact, on March 24, 1989, when the Exxon Valdez ran aground, right at Bligh Island, the containment barge was far away in Valdez, locked in a dry dock, its boom and hoses under Alaskan ice. As a result, by the time the emergency oil spill vessel got to the stricken ship, the oil slick was a hundred miles in circumference and beyond control.

Two decades later, I watched fireboats uselessly spraying the burning oil on the Deepwater Horizon. Once again there were no BP skimmer barges, no boom surrounding the rig. Just as in Alaska, the promised spill containment operation was a con. By the time the Navy set out 400 miles of rubber boom days later, the slick was already as big as Cuba and slathering the Gulf shores.

Recently, Chevron and other big oil giants, now drilling the Gulf, have printed a series of full page ads in papers across America touting their new state of the art oil spill containment operations. Hey, thanks. But these are the same vessels BP and its fellow Gulf drillers promised before the Deepwater Horizon blew apart.

FRAUD NO. 2: GHOST CREWS

There's no sense having a firetruck without firemen. And so, years before the Exxon Valdez grounding, Alyeska, the oil company consortium headed by BP, promised the U.S. Department of the Interior and the U.S. Congress, under oath, that the oil shipper would employ a trained and equipped crew around the clock to jump from helicopters, if needed, to contain an oil spill. My clients, the Chugach Natives of Alaska, agreed to give up ownership of the land under the Port of Valdez to the oil companies in return for those jobs.

The night the Exxon Valdez grounded, Chugach Natives watched from the beach at nearby Tatitlek Village as the tanker headed into the reef. They could have prevented the disaster—but they were helpless: BP had fired them.

In my team's investigation for the Chugach, we discovered that, to save money, BP's Alyeska simply drew up lists of nonexistent emergency spill response workers or wrote down names of untrained, unequipped dockworkers: an imaginary crew to man phantom emergency ships.

FRAUD NO. 3: PHANTOM EQUIPMENT

And the rubber boom? That was a phantom as well. BP's Alyeska had promised that too, in writing. The equipment was supposed to be placed along the tanker route including Bligh Island—exactly the spot where the Exxon Valdez grounded.

And so, it was no surprise to me that 21 years later in the Gulf there were neither skimmers nor boom at the site of the Deepwater Horizon. The equipment was there, as in Alaska, only on paper.

Indeed, part of BP's Gulf Coast response plan was a photocopy of the Alaska plan, including ways to wash down Arctic seals.

COVER UP, THREATS AND BRIBERY

Did BP's top executives and partners know of the ghost response teams and phantom equipment ruse? Yes, we have the documents and insiders' testimony. Just three examples from my bulging file cabinet:

In a confidential letter dated April 19, 1984, Capt. James Woodle, BP's commander of the port at Valdez, warned that "due to a reduction in manning, age of equipment, limited training and lack of personnel, serious doubt exists that [we] would be able to contain and clean up effectively a medium or large size oil spill."

In response, BP threatened him with a file on his marital infidelities (fabricated), fired him, then forced him to destroy his files.

Ten months before the Exxon Valdez spill, BP's Alyeska chief, Theo Polasek, told a secret meeting of the top executives of the Alaska group oil companies (including BP, Exxon and ConocoPhillips) that containing an oil spill "at the mid point of Prince William Sound [is] not possible with present equipment." But no change was made. Polasek was denied the funds needed to protect the mid Sound—exactly where the tanker grounded.

In September 1984, before the Exxon Valdez disaster, BP's shipping broker, Charles Hamel, was so concerned at what he saw as an immediate danger in Alaska that he flew by Concorde to London to warn BP's chiefs of the looming emergency. In response, BP hired ex CIA operatives to tap Hamel's phone and intercept his mail. BP's black ops team even ran a toy truck with a microphone into the air vents of a building where he was speaking with a congressman. (Ultimately, BP's spooks were captured by a team of Navy SEALs.)

BP GETS OFF CHEAP

The team of attorneys representing the Natives and fishermen whose lives were destroyed by the tanker spill chose to hold back the true and ugly story of systematic fraud and penny pinching negligence by BP and its partners. We focused instead on the simpler story of human frailty and error—"drunken skipper hits reef."

We didn't have a choice: Oil company chiefs had told our clients—Natives who were out of cash, isolated and desperate—that they wouldn't get a dime unless we agreed not to use the "f word": fraud. Exxon would withhold payment for 20 years.

We buried the fraud charges—yet Exxon still didn't pay for 22 years. By that time, a third of the Natives and fishermen in the lawsuit were dead.

And BP? Who said crime doesn't pay? BP walked away with a nominal payment to Alaska's Natives, fishermen and towns of $125 million—100 percent of it covered by insurance.

And that's what led, years later, to the incineration of 11 men on the Deepwater Horizon and 600 miles of Gulf coastline still poisoned today.

BP and other oil companies have a clear motive for these safety games: skimmer barges, crews, equipment and operations cost billions of dollars a year worldwide to man and maintain. It's cheaper to lie, cover up and buy the favor of politicians and regulators.

In London, BP executives told me on camera of their systematic bribery of presidents and their minions in the new

Continued on page 10

BP & THE EXXON VALDEZ

Continued from page 9

Caspian Sea oil states. (Bribery charges against one bagman were dropped when in 2010 the National Security Agency acknowledged that it had authorized the bribes.)

But it's not just "over there" that BP spreads its largesse. BP's original sweetheart oil leases in the Gulf and the light hand of regulators were doubtless the result of favors—monetary and sexual—that the company lavished on U.S. regulatory agents at the Minerals Management Service, an agency that

The author gets a whiff of Exxon Valdez oil 21 years after the spill.
Photo by R. Rowley

President Obama shuttered in response to the Deepwater Horizon blowout.

There's also the monetary and political love laid upon America's powerful. Although a foreign company, BP's chief in Alaska, Bob Malone, became a co chairman and fundraiser for George W. Bush's election campaign.

POLLUTED SHORES, POLLUTED POLITICS

In 2010, for the U.K.'s Channel 4 Television, I returned to Alaska with filmmaker Richard Rowley. In the quiet rivulets of the islands within Prince William Sound, we picked up gobs of oil with the telltale chemical markers of the Exxon Valdez. Then we flew to the Gulf Coast with Alaskan oil spill biologist Rick Steiner—and found miles and miles of BP's oil oozing under beaches the company and the Obama administration had already declared clean.

Yet just last week, BP was awarded more tracts to drill in the Gulf even as its onetime vice president for Gulf exploration, David Rainey, stands trial on felony charges of obstruction of Congress.

It is clear that neither BP, its partners nor this administration can be trusted to safely punch more miles deep holes in the Gulf of Mexico. As long as oil companies can pad their bottom line by scoffing at the law, as long as they can cheaply pollute the political process, the next disaster is not a matter of if, but when.

[Palast's investigation of BP opens his latest film, "Vultures and Vote Rustlers." Prerelease editions are available on DVD and download for a donation to Palast's foundation for investigative reporting. Go to GregPalast.com. And read the complete untold story of the Exxon Valdez and Deepwater Horizon disasters in Palast's "Vultures' Picnic," BBC Newsnight's Culture Program's Book of the Year.]

The 9/11 Cultural Festival

Thursday, 9/11/14 @ 5:25 pm through Sunday, 9/14/14 @ 5:25 pm

World Premiere of a New Play by **Bread and Puppet Theater Company**

Theatre

(Venue to be announced)
The Plays:
9/11 & The Youtube Tapes
Naked Uncle Sam
America the Army

Children's Play

@ First Street Green Park
33 East 1st St
The Emperor Has No Clothes
a 9/11 fable of our time

Poetry

@
The Bowery Poetry Club
308 Bowery
New York, NY
Bob Holman, John Farris,
Carla Cubit, Lois Mingus,
Exavier Wardlaw, Elliott
Levin, and Bobby Hegger
and others to be announced

Music

@
Jack
505 Wavery Ave.
Brooklyn, NY
Bands to be announced

FUKUSHIMA: THEY KNEW

THE THIRD ANNIVERSARY OF THE FUKUSHIMA NUCLEAR DISASTER

"Completely and Utterly Fail in an Earthquake"

March 10, 2014

THE FUKUSHIMA STORY YOU DIDN'T HEAR ON CNN

I've seen a lot of sick stuff in my career, but this was sick on a new level.

Here was the handwritten log kept by a senior engineer at the nuclear power plant:

"Wiesel was very upset. He seemed very nervous. Very agitated. . . ." In fact, the plant was riddled with problems that, no way on earth, could stand an earth quake. The team of engineers sent in to inspect found that most of these components could "completely and utterly fail" during an earthquake.

"Utterly fail during an earthquake." And here in Japan was the quake and here is the utter failure.

The warning was in what the investigations team called The Notebook, which I'm not supposed to have. Good thing I've kept a copy anyway, because the file cabinets went down with my office building ....

WORLD TRADE CENTER TOWER 1, FIFTY SECOND FLOOR, NEW YORK, 1986

Two senior nuclear plant engineers were spilling out their souls and files on our huge conference table, blowing away my government investigations team with the inside stuff about the construction of the Shoreham, New York, power station.

The meeting was secret. Very secret. Their courage could destroy their careers: No engineering firm wants to hire a snitch, even one who has saved thousands of lives. They could lose their jobs; they could lose everything. They did. That's what happens. Have a nice day.

On March 12, 2011, as I watched Fukushima melt, I knew: the "SQ" had been faked. Anderson Cooper said it would all be OK. He'd flown to Japan, to suck up the radiation and official company bullshit. The horror show was not the fault of Tokyo Electric, he said, because the plant was built to withstand only an 8.0 earthquake on the Richter scale, and this was 9.0. Anderson must have been in the gym when they handed out the facts. The 9.0 shake was in the middle of the Pacific Ocean, 90 miles away. It was barely a tenth of that power at Fukushima.

I was ready to vomit. Because I knew who had designed the plant, who had built it and whom Tokyo Electric Power was having rebuild it: Shaw Construction. The latest alias of Stone & Webster, the designated builder for every one of the four new nuclear plants that the Obama Administration has approved for billions in federal studies.

But I had The Notebook, the diaries of the earthquake inspector for the company. I'd squirreled it out sometime before the Trade Center went down. I shouldn't have done that. Too bad.

All field engineers keep a diary. Gordon Dick, a supervisor, wasn't supposed to show his to us. I asked him to show it to us and, reluctantly, he directed me to these notes about the "SQ" tests.

SQ is nuclear speak for "Seismic Qualification." A seismically qualified nuclear plant won't melt down if you shake it. A "seismic event" can be an earthquake or a Christmas present from Al Qaeda. You can't run a nuclear reactor in the USA or Europe or Japan without certified SQ.

This much is clear from his notebook: This nuclear plant will melt down in an earthquake. The plant dismally failed to meet the Seismic I (shaking) standards required by U.S. and international rules.

Here's what we learned: Dick's subordinate at the nuclear plant, Robert Wiesel, conducted the standard seismic review. Wiesel flunked his company. No good. Dick then ordered Wiesel to change his report to the Nuclear Regulatory Commission, change it from failed to passed. Dick didn't want to make Wiesel do it, but Dick was under the gun himself, acting on direct command from corporate chiefs. From The Notebook:

Wiesel was very upset. He seemed very nervous. Very agitated. [He said,] "I believe these are bad results and I believe it's reportable," and then he took the volume of federal regulations from the shelf and went to section 50.55(e), which describes reportable deficiencies at a nuclear plant and [they] read the section together, with Wiesel pointing to the appropriate paragraphs that federal law clearly required [them and the company] to report the Category II, Seismic I deficiencies.

Wiesel then expressed his concern that he was afraid that if he [Wiesel] reported the deficiencies, he would be fired, but that if he didn't report the deficiencies, he would be breaking a federal law....

The law is clear. It is a crime not to report a safety failure. I could imagine Wiesel standing there with that big, thick rule book in his hands, The Law. It must have been heavy. So was his paycheck. He weighed the choices: Break the law, possibly a jail time crime, or keep his job.

What did Wiesel do? What would you do?

Why the hell would his company make this man walk the line? Why did they put the gun to his head, to make him conceal mortal danger? It was the money. It's always the money. Fixing the seismic problem would have cost the plant's owner half a billion dollars easy. A guy from corporate told Dick, "Bob is a good man. He'll do what's right. Don't worry about Bob."

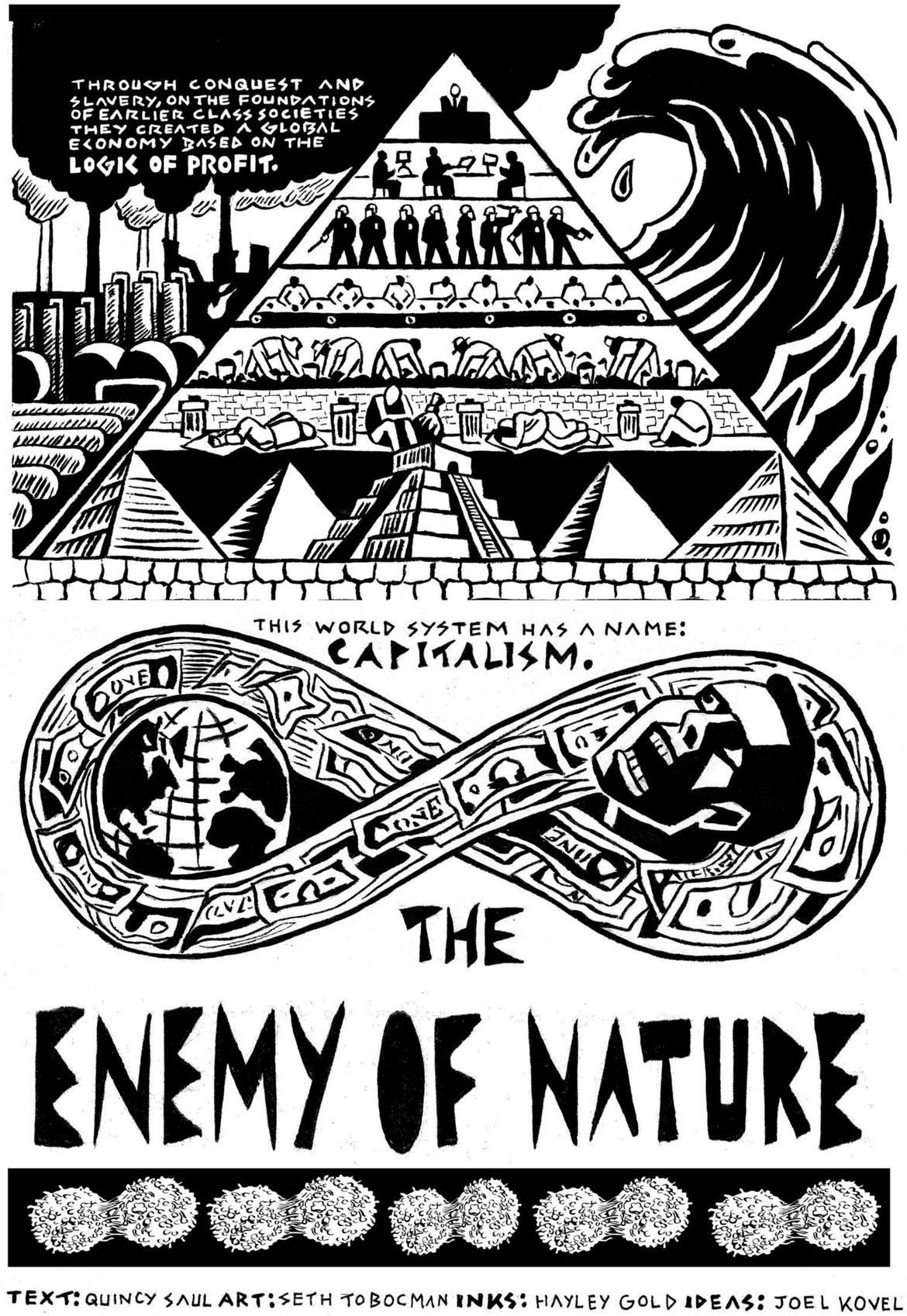
That is, they thought Bob would save his job and career rather than rat out the company to the feds.

But I think we should all worry about Bob. The company he worked for, Stone & Webster Engineering, built or designed about a third of the nuclear plants in the United States.

From the fifty second floor we could look at the Statue of Liberty. She didn't look back.

[This is an excerpt from Greg Palast's book "Vultures' Picnic: In Pursuit of Petroleum Pigs, Power Pirates and High Finance Fraudsters"]

PLEASE MAKE A TAX-DEDUCTIBLE DONATION BY CHECK OR MONEY ORDER TO THE GREG PALAST INVESTIGATIVE FUND, PAYABLE TO: SMF/ PALAST FUND *[NOTE: SMF STANDS FOR SUSTAINABLE MARKETS FOUNDATION, OUR FISCAL SPONSOR]* ***+ SEND TO: PALAST FUND, P.O. BOX 90, GREENPORT, NY 11944***


THROUGH CONQUEST AND SLAVERY, ON THE FOUNDATIONS OF EARLIER CLASS SOCIETIES THEY CREATED A GLOBAL ECONOMY BASED ON THE LOGIC OF PROFIT.
THIS WORLD SYSTEM HAS A NAME:
CAPITALISM.
THE
ENEMY OF NATURE
TEXT: QUINCY SAUL ART: SETH TOBOCMAN INKS: HAYLEY GOLD IDEAS: JOEL KOVEL

THE TWO BASIC ELEMENTS OF THIS SYSTEM ARE HUMAN LABOR AND NATURE. BOTH MUST BE RUTHLESSLY CONTROLLED IF THE SYSTEM IS TO CONTINUE.

HUMANS ARE CONTROLLED BY SEPARATING THEM FROM THEIR LABOR. THE THINGS WE PRODUCE AND THE WAY WE PRODUCE THEM BECOME THE PROPERTY OF OTHERS. AS THE WORLD GETS RICHER WE GET POORER.

NATURE MUST BE TRANSFORMED INTO PRODUCTS TO BE SOLD, IN EVER EXPANDING QUANTITIES AND WAYS, SO NATURE PAYS THE PRICE FOR PROGRESS.

THE RACE FOR PROFITS CREATES A PRESSURE TO LOWER COSTS - A PRESSURE TO MAKE PEOPLE AND NATURE WORTH LESS.

CONSTANT RESTLESSNESS AND INSECURITY ARE THE RULE. NO MATTER HOW RICH YOU ARE, YOU HAVE TO KEEP MAKING MORE MONEY.

PROFIT IS ALSO MADE BY PRODUCING MORE IN LESS TIME. SO THE RACE IS ALWAYS GETTING FASTER AND FASTER.

TO MAKE MORE AND MORE MONEY THE SYSTEM NEEDS TO SELL MORE AND MORE STUFF. BUT IT CAN ONLY KEEP MAKING MORE PROFITS IF IT PAYS PEOPLE LESS AND LESS FOR THEIR LABOR.

SO WE END UP WITH SHIPS FULL OF PRODUCTS THAT PEOPLE ARE TOO POOR TO BUY.

THE SYSTEM'S RESPONSE IS A CULTURE OF CONSUMERISM. MANIPULATING DESIRE TO CREATE FALSE NEEDS AND A THROW AWAY WORLD.

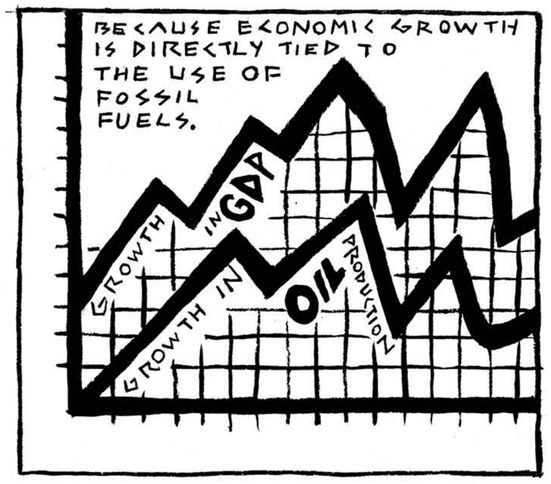
AT THE SAME TIME IT CREATES DEBT SO THAT PEOPLE CAN PURCHASE PRODUCTS THEY CAN'T AFFORD.

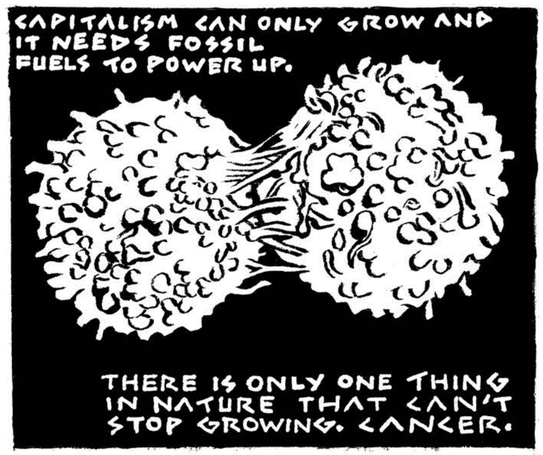
AND THE PRODUCTIVE SYSTEM KEEPS CREATING THE GREAT GARBAGE MOUNTAINS AND OCEANIC ISLANDS OF WASTE.

AS WE BURN THROUGH OUR PLANET IN A RACE FOR WHAT'S LEFT, WE FIGHT RESOURCE WARS WHICH DEVASTATE NATURE AND HUMANITY EVEN MORE.

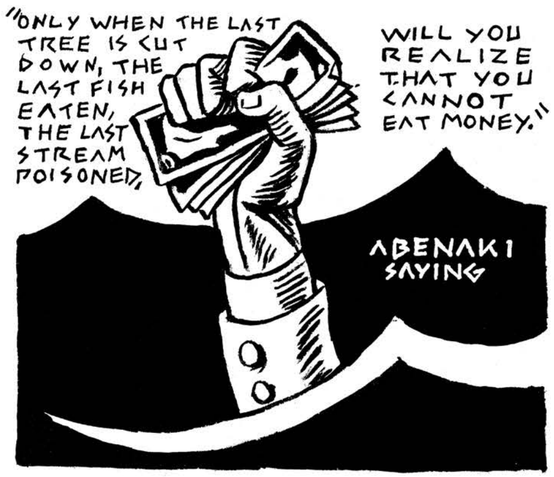
THE STATE PLAYS THE SAME ROLE IT DID 5000 YEARS AGO BUT NOW WITH WEAPONS OF MASS DESTRUCTION AND FIENDISH NEW POWERS OF SURVEILLANCE.

SCIENTISTS ARE WARNING US THAT OUR USE OF OIL AND COAL IS CAUSING CLIMATE CHANGE, MELTING THE POLAR ICE CAPS. SO WHY CAN'T WE DO ANYTHING ABOUT THAT?




CAPITALISM CAN ONLY GROW AND IT NEEDS FOSSIL FUELS TO POWER UP.
THERE IS ONLY ONE THING IN NATURE THAT CAN'T STOP GROWING. CANCER.

CAPITALISTS WILL NEVER GIVE IN TO MORAL PERSUASION OR SHAME. THAT IS TO SAY, THEY BEHAVE LIKE CAPITAL.
CHEVRON EXECUTIVES
WE'RE GOING TO FIGHT THIS UNTIL HELL FREEZES OVER—AND THEN WE'LL FIGHT IT OUT ON THE ICE.


"ONLY WHEN THE LAST TREE IS CUT DOWN, THE LAST FISH EATEN, THE LAST STREAM POISONED,
WILL YOU REALIZE THAT YOU CANNOT EAT MONEY."
ABENAKI SAYING

ORIGINALLY PUBLISHED IN 'TRUTH AND DARE' FROM ECOSOCIALIST HORIZONS

SHADOW INTERVIEW:

NY STATE POLITICAL PRISONER DAVID GILBERT

By Bob Feldman

[The SHADOW last interviewed David Gilbert in mid-1991 (Issue #18). The following interview with Gilbert was done by mail in March 2014]

SHADOW: Your article [Community-Based Justice and Self Determination] highlights two key moments: Nixon's declaring the war on crime and Reagan's amping up of the war on drugs. Are you saying that the drive for mass incarceration has been a solely Republican initiative?

DAVID GILBERT [DG]: Oh no, the Democrats have been full blooded warriors too—when it comes to screwing those at the bottom the two parties can be very non partisan. In the 1980s, when I came upstate in New York, the governor was the liberal Democrat Mario Cuomo (his son, Andrew, is the governor today), and the prison population mushroomed—they built 7 to 9 maximum security prisons that decade (and another 56 new prisons were built by New York State between 1990 and 2004). President Clinton presided over a major federal expansion in the 1990s, at the same time that he worked to "end welfare as we know it." So, he continued the Reagan demagogy of turning the frustrations of white working class people away from the corporate rulers and toward the despised, racially constructed "others"—pictured as Black, along with immigrants pictured as Latino—while Clinton deregulated the banks.

SHADOW: You wrote about the widespread damage from the war on drugs. Could that initiative have been an honest mistake, a kind of ham fisted response to the real problem of drugs?

DG: The architects of that war knew what would happen. The U.S. already had the very memorable experience of Prohibition from 1919 to 1933. It didn't at all solve the problem of alcohol abuse, but illegality made it very lucrative, a bright light for the moth of violent crime.

The obvious alternative is a public health approach. Tobacco is the most addictive and harmful drug, yet the rate of use has been cut almost in half since 1985. And that's been with only a half assed campaign, with tobacco companies still spending over $8 billion a year on advertising and promotional expenses in the United States alone.

With tobacco, alcohol and other drugs, there should be no advertising and no promotion, but extensive education and, as we did with AIDS education, fostering people's abilities to find healthier approaches. Of course there's no complete solution without revolutionary social change that enables people to feel better about themselves. But even in the meantime we can do a hell of a lot better.

The cost of the war on drugs has been staggering. Since 1970, the U.S. has spent $1 trillion; yearly arrests total 1.6 million. So over the years, millions have been arrested—which means many millions of children subjected to the trauma and harm of a parent wrenched from their lives.

Globally, thousands of human beings have been killed, an estimated 70,000 in Mexico alone, from the violence spawned by illegal lucrative drugs. The result of all this carnage: today more people use drugs than when the war was launched. Could you imagine a program like Head Start or Food Stamps still getting funded with a cost/benefit ratio like that? Actually they are getting cut back despite—or maybe because of—their proven effectiveness.

The criminal justice system isn't broken. It's doing what it was designed for: to generate public support for police state measures while tearing apart and turning back what was an inspiring challenge from the Black and other insurgent communities.

SHADOW: Right now many mainstream voices are calling for reducing the number of people in prison. Is this a major turnaround? Why are we seeing this change now? What are the prospects of significant reductions?

DG: Two vectors have converged from opposite directions. On the top, the passion for tax cuts for the rich and resulting fiscal stresses have pushed officials to look for budget savings. Previously prisons weren't up for such discussion. But the war's very success in beating back political and social insurgency gives them a little breathing room at the same time that crime rates (street crime, that is; the real crimes of wars of aggression, hunger, environmental destruction, etc., keep rolling along at a most dangerous pace.) are down. So cutting the prison costs is a reasonable reform for some in power.

The only reason such a change can even be considered is because there's been a strong push from below. Even in the darkest days of the demonization of "criminals," there were many principled

Continued on page 20

COMMUNITY BASED JUSTICE AND SELF DETERMINATION

By David Gilbert

Many humane and thoughtful people recognize that mass incarceration is not an effective strategy for fighting crime: the whole approach reinforces the might makes right values that generate violence; demeaning and often brutal prison conditions undermine prisoner "rehabilitation"; resources that should go to positive programs for the youth get siphoned off by the prison industrial complex. But the current system is definitely not "misguided"; it's very successful in its actual goal: keeping oppressed communities in a perpetual state of chaos and agony.

Today's disaster goes back to forces set in motion in 1969. That's when President Richard Nixon said to his chief of staff H.R. Haldeman (recounted many years later when Haldeman published his diary), "You have to recognize that the whole problem is really the blacks. The key is to devise a system that recognizes this while appearing not to." This was the thinking behind the birth of the terrible twins that continue to take a grim toll today: the illegal, often lethal covert government attacks on the Black Liberation Movement, COINTELPRO, and the "War on Crime."

At the time, the Black Panther Party and other revolutionary groups, such as the Young Lords, the American Indian Movement, and the Crusade for Justice were building programs such as free breakfast for school children, neighborhood health clinics, mobilizations against police violence, and free schools. More than just a series of programs, these efforts were part of a push for self determination for the oppressed, to lead to a situation where people define their own priorities and direction. They in turn inspired a new crop of struggle by women, lesbians and gays, environmentalists, labor militants. The movements challenged the government's massive misappropriation of resources for war and repression.

The vicious counter offensive of imprisonment, assassination, and fostering divisions decimated the revolutionary organizations. Ghetto and barrio economies were wrecked as factories left while drugs came pouring in—all while the mass media promoted the image that your self worth depended on what you could buy. The War on Crime's wholesale lock up of Black and Latino men left gaping holes in families, with needed co parents, wage earners, brothers, uncles, sons missing. Women had to take on the Amazonian challenge of being single parents within economically devastated communities. And now women are being locked up at an unprecedented rate, with 205,000 in prison or jail. Having either parent absent can be traumatic and damaging for the children left behind. As the mania for mass incarceration spread, many poorer white people got swept in too. On that day when Nixon complained to Haldeman about the blacks, there were lesss than 300,000 human beings behind bars in the U.S.; today the number is 2,300,000.

The only way to turn around the damage done by crime is to have community based justice. On the one hand that involves developing an economic vibrancy that provides constructive ways to make a living and to meet community needs such as housing, education, health care, wholesome food grown in urban gardens. The companions to that are programs that turn around internal violence and abuse by fostering and empowering women's organizations, safehouses and anti rape centers, anti violence counseling, mental health services, and community organization that promotes mutual support and respect.

We can't magically go back to 1969—and the movements of that day had only started to engage the needed struggles against male supremacy and homo and transphobia. What we can do is build a movement that combines direct opposition to the current, destructive criminal justice system with efforts for healthier, more cohesive, self determining communities.

[One of America's most celebrated political prisoners since his appearance in the Academy Award nominated film, The Weather Underground, David Gilbert is also the author of No Surrender, a book of essays on politics and history, and an autobiography, Love and Struggle: My Life in SDS, the Weather Underground, and Beyond. He can be reached at: David Gilbert, 83 A 6158, P.O. Box 618, Auburn Correctional Facility, Auburn, NY 13024, where he has recently begun his 33rd year of imprisonment. This article originally appeared in Certain Days' 2014 Political Prisoners Calendar]

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DOWN BY LAW

RADICAL ATTORNEY LYNNE STEWART FREE AFTER INTERNATIONAL CAMPAIGN

JUSTICE DEPARTMENT WANTED HER TO DIE IN PRISON!

By Ralph Schoenman

May 24, 2014

[Lynne Stewart is a radical human rights attorney who has devoted her life to the oppressed—a constant advocate for the countless many deprived in the United States of their freedom and their rights. Lynne has been falsely accused of helping terrorists in an obvious attempt by the U.S. government to silence dissent, curtail vigorous defense lawyers, and instill fear in those who would fight against the U.S. government's racism, seek to help Arabs and Muslims being prosecuted for free speech and defend the rights of oppressed people. Lynne was arrested in April 2002 and arraigned before Manhattan federal Judge John Koeltl, who also presided over her trial in 2004. She had violated a "Special Administrative Measures" (known as SAMs), an administrative decree that is not law, under which an attorney is not permitted to publicize a client's views or speak publicly on behalf of the client. As violation of SAMs is not a crime, the only penalty available under SAMs is to deny an attorney access to his/her client. Nevertheless, Lynne was convicted in February 2005, found guilty of conspiracy to defraud the U.S. government, providing material support to terrorists and conspiring to conceal it, and making false statements, for which she received a 28-month sentence in October 2006. She was free on bail until 2009, when the government appealed the 28-month sentence, seeking 30 years. In late 2009, Lynne was re sentenced to 10 years in federal prison. Lynne was freed from prison on December 31, 2013—Ed.]

The international Petition Campaign that succeeded in mobilizing global support for the release from federal prison of Lynne Stewart, the intrepid and revered defender of the rights of the oppressed, secured an improbable victory in securing her release. It was achieved by galvanizing support on the broadest basis and, through the depth and breadth of its determined efforts, rendered the political price of Lynne Stewart's official murder ultimately too high to sustain.

ATTACK ON POLITICAL ATTORNEYS

Lynne's persecution and prosecution by U.S. rulers was a touchstone of the fake "war on terror,' put in place as ideological cover for permanent war and the concomitant dismantling of formal democratic rights in the United States.

Lynne was charged falsely, tried and convicted, of "conspiring to provide material support for terrorism" solely by virtue of her undertaking the vigorous legal defense of a man falsely accused.

There is no more fundamental attack on the rights of citizens than enfolding an attorney within the crime imputed falsely to her defendant simply for the act of defending him. The criminalization of legal defense is a basic assault on every attorney in the U.S. and the principle of due process itself.

ENTRAPMENT AND THE WAR ON TERROR

In November 1994, Lynne Stewart joined former Attorney General Ramsey Clark and noted civil rights attorney Abdeen Jabara, former President of the Arab-American Anti-Discrimination Committee, in defending Sheikh Omar Abdel-Rahman, the Egyptian cleric and leader of an Islamic party that played a significant role in the thirty year struggle against the dictatorship of Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak. **[The Sheikh was arrested in June 1993 and convicted on October 1, 1995—Ed.]**

The "blind Sheikh," as he was known, was accused of "the landmarks plot" and, of providing tangential support to the bombing of the World Trade Center in 1993. The "landmarks plot" entailed a presumptive plan to blow up prominent New York structures, including the George Washington Bridge, the Brooklyn Bridge, the Lincoln and Holland tunnels, the Statue of Liberty and the principal building of the United Nations. In addition to this vast undertaking, the blind Sheikh's mad scheme was claimed to include the assassination of then-United Nations Secretary-General Butros Butros-Ghali and New York Senator Alphonse D'Amato!

Sheikh Omar Abdel-Rahman was elderly and blind, with advanced diabetes that had caused loss of sensation in his fingers, preventing him from reading Braille. The Sheikh spoke no English, had no financial means and presided over a walk-up mosque in Brooklyn, whose parishioners consisted of immigrant youth either unemployed or working as dish washers and taxi drivers, lacking the capacity or inclination to coordinate or implement so vast an operation in the center of Manhattan.

In reality, an agent of Hosni Mubarak's secret police, named Emad Ali Salem, was assigned to the New York office of the FBI and with full collusion of FBI superiors in Washington, Emad Ali Salem set out to entrap young parishioners of the Sheikh's mosque. Lynne Stewart's cross-examination of Emad Ali Salem established that the FBI had supplied explosives, a rental van and enacted the bombing at the World Trade Center that killed six and wounded hundreds. [See SHADOW #34—Ed.] Presiding judge Michael Mukasey forbade further questioning of the witness and instructed the jury to "think how dangerous it would have been had the accused supplied and planted explosives, instead of the FBI."

JUDGE MUKASEY, GRAVEDIGGER OF THE CONSTITUTION

The criminal conspiracy with which the people of the United States were confronted was that of Judge Mukasey and of a prosecution that answered to the President of the United States, Bill Clinton ,and his Attorney General Janet Reno—the very Justice Department that would then be enlisted to frame Lynne Stewart.

The same Judge Michael Mukasey, when nominated to be Attorney General, published an article in the Wall Street Journal advocating a parallel system of justice in the United States for those accused of crimes against national security. Those so accused would no longer be allowed defense counsel or due process of public trial. On the contrary, Judge Mukasey intoned, people so accused would be treated as mental patients and consigned by fiat to institutions where they would be held without public notice, access or means of redress.

This is the real content of the 2012 National Defense Authorization Act [NDAA] of Barack Obama, supported overwhelming by both parties of the ruling class, which allows the arrest, detention and disappearance of those deemed a threat to national security. Any disclosure of their arrest or disappearance by family members or others will result in their own detention and disappearance.

Lynne Stewart

It should be noted that Lynne Stewart's powerful brief filed with the Supreme Court in February 2013 by her attorneys demonstrated irrefutably that her public statements to media and the world regarding the innocence and actual views of Sheikh Omar Abdel Rahman were not only her obligation as defense attorney, but speech protected absolutely by the First Amendment. **[The summarized brief can be seen at: http://lynnestewart.org—Ed.]**

It was no surprise that the Solicitor General and the Justice Department of Barack Obama and Eric Holder filed papers opposing Lynne Stewart's right of Appeal to the Supreme Court, let alone the right of her client to free speech and the fundamental right of a defense attorney to publicize evidence of innocence with impunity from prosecution for so doing.

ERIC HOLDER, OBAMA'S J. EDGAR HOOVER

But then, who is Eric Holder, the Attorney General of the United States, to whom Charles E. Samuels, Jr., Director of the Federal Bureau of prisons, answered, as the Justice Department demanded not merely denial of Lynne Stewart's release for treatment of advanced cancer, but argued for her sentence to be extended to thirty years?

Attorney Eric Holder, partner in the high powered Washington, DC insiders' law firm, Covington and Burling, was the legal representative of Chiquita Brands International, Inc., the heir to United Fruit, whose CEO Fernando Aguirre was compelled to admit on 60 Minutes that Chiquita Brands had paid millions of dollars to right-wing death squads in Colombia, known as the AUC. Coca-Cola colluded.

The U.S. State Department lists the AUC as a terrorist organization. The Attorney General of Colombia, Mario Iguaran, described the role of Chiquita Brands and its executives as a "criminal conspiracy." Their paramilitary death squads killed tens of thousands of peasants, union organizers and wiped out entire villages.

Eric Holder was the principal attorney for Chiquita Brands. He crafted their defense. Holder contrived the lie that the millions paid by Chiquita for the execution of peasants, students, union leaders and defenders of the poor by Chiquita's hired death squads were to secure "protection" for Chiquita's employees.

No, said the Colombian Attorney General. "It was to Chiquita's great benefit to finance the death squads within this region to allow them to conduct their extremely profitable banana-growing operations." Preserving slave labor enforced by a reign of terror, Chiquita Brands supplied lists of those to be killed.

Attorney General Eric Holder continued to represent Chiquita Brands. He was well paid for his services as legal mouthpiece for the death squads of Colombia. The Attorney General of the United States served as terrorist in chief.

It was Attorney General Holder and his Justice Department who directed the prosecution and persecution of Lynne Stewart. This prosecution demanded a thirty- year sentence for Lynne Stewart.

When Federal District Judge John Koeltl sentenced Lynne Stewart to 28 months in jail on October 16, 2006. the Justice Department appealed to the Second Circuit Court of Appeals, demanding a directive for a vastly increased sentence.

CROOKED JUDICIAL ESTABLISHMENT GANGS UP ON LYNNE STEWART

Judges of the Second Circuit who led the way in ordering Judge Koeltl to enhance Lynne's sentence were Judge John M. Walker. Jr. and Judge Robert D. Sack. Judge Walker is a cousin of George H. W. Bush and George W. Bush.

On October 25, 2006, Judge Walker struck a traffic policeman, Dan Picacgl, in New Haven with his sports vehicle and killed him. He was not detained by the police. The police did not subject Judge Walker to a test for alcohol consumption. He was never charged.

Judge Walker was a partner in the law firm Patterson, Belknap and Wells. He was also a partner in Gibson, Dunn and Crutcher. Gibson, Dunn and Crutcher is a global law firm with over 1,000 attorneys and 2,000 staff in 18 offices throughout the world, including North and South America, Asia and the Middle East. Other partners include former Solicitor General Theodore Olson.

Judge Robert D. Sack, like Judge Walker, was a partner in both Patterson, Belknap and Wells, as well as Gibson, Dunn and Crutcher. Judge and later Attorney General Michael Mukasey, the judge in the trial of Sheikh Omar Abdel Rahman, was also a partner in Patterson, Belknap, Webb and Tyler, as well as Gibson, Dunn and Crutcher.

Neither Judge Sack nor "cop killer" Judge Walker recused himself, despite having shared partnerships with Judge Mukasey in powerful and prestigious law firms.

Continued on next page

BUREAUCRATS VS. COMPASSIONATE RELEASE

What of Charles E. Samuels, Jr. Director of the Federal Bureau of Prisons? Director Samuels received a second recommendation for Compassionate Release for Lynne Stewart from the Federal Medical Center (FMC) Carswell Warden Jody Upton, along with the recommendation of FMC prison medical staff.

Federal Bureau of Prisons Medical experts confirmed the findings of Warden Upton and his medical staff. Instead of instructing the Federal attorney to file a motion with Judge John Koeltl for Compassionate Release for Lynne Stewart, as required by the 1984 Sentencing Act, Director Samuels referred the issue to "an independent Committee," for which there was no legal provision.

Who is Director Charles E. Samuels, Jr? Here is his testimony before the House Appropriations Committee, at the time that FBOP Inspector General Michael Horowitz excoriated the Federal Bureau of Prisons for refusing to abide by the law and implement Compassionate Release.

Director Samuels responded as follows in testimony that included a section entitled "Preventing Radicalization in Federal Prisons":

"The BOP takes very seriously the obligation to guard against the spread of terrorism and extremist ideologies...and has taken substantial steps to address this concern. BOP pursues a policy of containment...using a variety of management controls, including monitoring inmates' social communications and restricting prisoners' housing and movement.

"In addition, BOP monitors and records telephonic communication of inmates...and shares any relevant information with the FBI, including its National Joint Terrorism Task Force and other agencies. ...BOP and FBI jointly developed the Correctional Intelligence Initiative, a national project to detect, deter and disrupt radicalization of inmates.

"Through its work, the project helps develop best practices and coordinates procedures to ensure outside extremists are universally denied access to prison populations."

In short, the Federal Bureau of Prisons, under Director Samuels, set itself up as the arbiter of political belief and expression on the part of prisoners. It arrogated to itself the right to "disrupt radicalization"and suppress political opinion of which the FBOP and the FBI and the National Joint Terrorism Task Force "disapprove."

THE MOVEMENT TO FREE LYNNE STEWART

Michael Horowitz, Inspector General of the Federal Bureau of Prisons, testified before the Senate Committee responsible for funding the FBP and gave scathing evidence bearing upon its failure to abide by the 1984 Statute mandating Compassionate Release, notably for prisoners confronting grave and/or terminal illness. His testimony corroborated the important Report by Human Rights Watch on this subject and the testimony provided by Human Rights Watch before Congress on the issue.

That in turn produced two editorials in the New York Times accusing the Justice Department and the Federal Bureau of prisons of violating the law and condemning large number of prisoners eligible for Compassionate Release to death in prison. We built on this to dramatize the Justice Department's persecution of Lynne Stewart through denying her Compassionate Release. Given her Stage Four cancer, resulting in no small measure from medical neglect in prison, Lynne was condemned effectively to a bureaucratic process of judicial murder.

This reality, combined with the political drama involved in her persecutory prosecution, served to galvanize an international campaign, which was built around the International Petition that we coordinated on change.org.

Lynne Stewart's husband and political companion of fifty years, Ralph Poynter, was indefatigable in her defense speaking, picketing, doing media interviews and galvanizing support. Archbishop Desmond Tutu was among the first prominent international human rights figure who publicly embraced Lynne's cause and worked closely with us in building a growing international movement.

In essence, the Justice Department and Federal Bureau of Prisons were reduced to stonewalling inasmuch as the application for Compassionate Release by Lynne Stewart and her family complied with the Statute and compelled the Federal Bureau of Prisons and Justice Department to act accordingly. They used every tactic to deny Lynne. Ultimately, the breadth of the campaign and the exposure of official conduct aroused such strong feeling that the political price became too high.

VICTORY AT LAST!

Lynne was released just before News Years Day, 2014, when, finally, the Director of the Federal Bureau of Prisons and the government prosecutors allowed the issue of Compassionate Release to be placed before sentencing Judge John Koeltl of the Federal District Court in Manhattan.

It was a huge victory and one that few of us thought would be realized given the record of the Justice Department and Federal Bureau of Prisons on the 1984 Statute in particular and the political vendetta against Lynne Stewart that the ruling powers had pursued.

The international petition campaign, the rallies, meetings and marches were combined with non stop telephone campaigns through which thousands of people deluged Obama, Holder, the Federal Bureau of Prisons Director Samuels and FMC Carswell Warden Jody Upton.

Permanent pickets were outside the White House, the Federal Bureau of Prisons and the FMC Carswell with rotating groups and mobilizations. It reached the point where motions were put on the table in the House of Commons and rallies were unfolding outside U.S embassies in many countries.

These efforts continue for the many political prisoners held in federal and state prisons in the United States and occupy Lynne Stewart, the Lynne Stewart Organization and the Lynne Stewart Defense Committee on a daily basis.

Ralph Schoenman is a co-producer, with Mya Shone, of nationally-broadcast radio program "Taking Aim" which can be found at: *http://takingaimradio.com*

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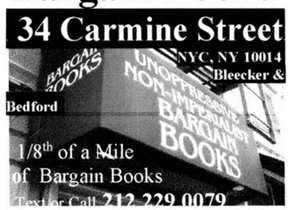

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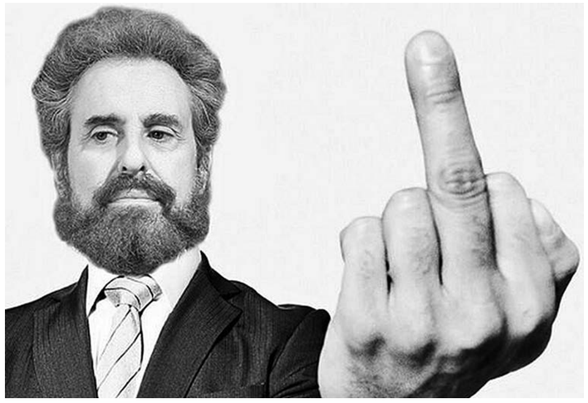
Open Later Than You Think

ACTIVIST ATTORNEY STANLEY COHEN ACCEPTS PLEA DEAL TO END WITCH HUNT

By Chris Flash



Stanley L. Cohen is an activist attorney, representing and defending people fighting for their rights and for their communities, as well those unjustly accused and victimized by the police state government, for more than 30 years.

Along the way, Stanley has made countless friends and allies, including those who owe a great debt to his generosity in assisting them and, in some cases, literally saving their asses. He's also made some enemies. These are members of the police state he's fought against and protected people from since 1983, snatching prey from their salivating mouths.

Stanley's clients have ranged from the Tompkins Square activists, including the squatters on Manhattan's Lower East Side and The SHADOW, to the politically notorious, including [Islamic Resistance Movement] Hamas and those accused of "terrorism."

For more than a decade, the forces of evil have been trying to pin something on Stanley—domestic and international clients have been promised no jail time if they would give up anything on him. Failing to get Stanley and stop him from performing his craft, the government finally scraped the bottom of the barrel, filing indictments against him in two jurisdictions regarding income taxes.

The allegations include his working for barter, accepting cash payments from clients, not depositing cash received from clients all at once, not keeping "proper" books and not providing W2 forms for sub-contractors who do their own taxes. None of these allegations would be considered "criminal" in any other instance. Except in this case.

After years of litigation, hundreds of thousands of dollars in legal expenses and stress caused to himself and to his family and interference with his practice, in order to end the witch hunt against him and the specter of a long drawn out legal fight for the next several years, including a possible appeals process, on April 14, Stanley reluctantly accepted a plea bargain deal, by which he has agreed to plead guilty to "impeding the IRS," which is not a crime and which carries no weight in New York State.

As a result of this plea deal, Stanley may face up to 18 months in jail when he is sentenced on October 21, along with the possible loss of his license to practice law. Stanley tells The SHADOW that he will keep working up to the time he is sentenced.

On May 27, The SHADOW met with Stanley and asked him the following:

The SHADOW: What do you say about feds going after activist attorneys to punish and scare them from representing notorious defendants?

Stanley: This administration has targeted political opposition, dissidents and whistle blowers, journalists and people who've opposed politics overseas and domestically. This administration announces that it is wedded to the "rule of law", but this is an administration of lawbreaking and lawlessness, the most bankrupt and fraudulent administration since [president Richard] Nixon]. [Recently released activist attorney] Lynne Stewart is a legendary figure, magnificent attorney and remarkable person who the US government designated as a terrorist, which some agreed with. My response to them is FUCK YOU. My response is that Obama and [Attorney General Eric] Holder and Wall Street are the terrorists.

The SHADOW: How would you describe the nature of the charges against you?

Stanley: I was indicted in the northern district of New York for "impeding" the IRS, but they had no jurisdiction over me, as I live and practice law in the southern district of New York. The northern district was on a witch hunt, assuming they'd find all sorts of shit. When that fell to crap, they returned with "impeding the IRS" under a statute that was passed 70-80 years ago to protect revenuers when they went into the mountains to collect taxes. "Impeding the IRS" is not income tax evasion. People scoff at the notion that I'm running a practice to avoid paying the IRS.

The SHADOW: What if you had gone to trial?

Stanley: I was facing trials in two different districts, with two groups of prosecutors and two judges. I've spent enough time, energy and focus on this for ten years, finally saying "KHALAS" ["Enough"]. Strategically, it made no sense. If I had spent 30 years on Wall Street, I would not have been charged, or, if I had, I could have just written a check. I'll let history be the judge as to who the good guy is and who the bad guy is.

The SHADOW: What can you say about your sentencing?

Stanley: An 18 month sentence was agreed to, which means one year, with good time applied. The judge could reject the proposal or agree, or the judge

Continued on page 20

SHADOW REVIEWS:

RADICAL JESUS + WW3 ILLUSTRATED

By Scott Cunningham

Paul Buhle refers to himself as "unchurched"—which may sound strange coming from the guy who just edited Radical Jesus: A Graphic History of Faith—but then, that also may be why he's the perfect choice to take it on. And why someone like me, not a religious person, still finds it a fascinating read. That's because this three-part, book-length comic captures the spiritual nature of left-wing politics without ever getting too preachy. And the core of that spirituality is political action. As in getting up and doing something, saying something, and not staying at home reading your Bible—which is more the way I remember religious teaching from my early years, growing up Baptist in Springfield, Missouri. Any "action" in that church usually involved singing, stomping your feet and the occasional bake sale.

Buhle is a historian who edited the graphic adaptions of Howard Zinn's A People's History of the American Empire and Stud Terkle's Working, and at its heart, Radical Jesus also a hard-nosed history book in graphic form; a book that focuses on the political activism of Jesus and those he has inspired over the centuries. Each of the three sections of the album-sized graphic novel is illustrated by a different artist with a distinctly different hand—both in story-telling techniques and visuals.

The first section, "Radical Gospel" is black and white with a graphic punch. Sabrina Jones pages are poster-like, single image declarations that nonetheless fluidly link up into a panel-to-panel structure. Stylistically, it brings a different kind of energy to the page that's unique. She's been a regular contributor to WW3 Illustrated for nearly 30 years and has worked with Buhle in the past on Isadora Duncan: A Graphic Biography and FDR and the New Deal for Beginners. Unlike the "unchurched" Buhle, Jones a longtime Quaker, where she has been facilitating a Bible group at the New York City Friends Meeting House for 15 years. "One of my favorite questions that we ask of every passage we study is 'How can I apply the meaning of the passage to my life?'...or our time?" Jones has said, and applied that technique to her adaption of the Gospel stories.

Jones uses anachronisms that Jesus spoke in the 1st century and illustrates them with scenes from the world today. This approach results in illuminating juxtapositions such as the poignant pairing of Jesus' words "blessed are those who mourn" with Trayvon Martin's parents mourning the tragic murder of their son. And that reminds me to mention that in 2013, Jones illustrated Race to Incarcerate: A Graphic Retelling, an adaptation of Marc Mauer's book about the country's exploding imprisonment rate and its impact, in particular, on African Americans.

"Radical History," the second section of the book, is illustrated by Gary Dumm, working from his own scripts and other adapters, including Buhle. Dumm's somber, serious, realistic style is a good fit for the material it documents: a series of vignettes tracing the history of the church through groups who took the life and teachings of Jesus to heart. Included in this section are stories about early Christian off-shoots such as the Lollards, the Anabaptists and the Quakers. It also details events in the life of John Wycliffe, whose translation of the Bible into common English turned out to be one of the most radical acts of all. With common folks able to read scripture themselves, it gave a power to the people that scared the conservatives in the Church; many Christians burned at the stake for the crime of being too Christian. Beginning in the 14th, this section ends in the 1800s, showing how scripture served to inspire America's anti-slavery movement.

Dumm's comics might be familiar to Shadow readers from his work with Harvey Pekar in the writer's long-running autobiographical series American Splendor; both Pekar and Buhle worked with Dumm on 2009's Students for a Democratic Society: A Graphic History. Dumm also collaborated with Pekar as the primary artist on Ego & Hubris: The Michael Malice Story.

The last section of the book is called "Radical Resistance," and is illustrated by Nick Thorkelson. It's a huge stylistic switch from "Radical History" and a welcomed one after all the heaviness of the middle section. Thorkelson is cartoony, colorful, with a light touch, and gives a hopefulness to these stories of recent acts of religiously-inspired resistance. Groups such as the Catholic Workers, the Civil Rights movement, and the Christian Peacemaker Teams from the Vietnam War are featured. The stories springboard from discussions of Biblical invocations, illustrating how they can be applied to real-life actions to effect social change. Thorkeson has contributed to many anthologies in the past and produced a full-length counter-history comic: The Underhanded History of the USA. His life-time as an activist also informs his hands-on approach to presenting the protests in the book.

As I said, I don't see myself as a religious guy and approached Radical Jesus with caution. I was surprised how much I liked it. But guess what—I wasn't the only guy surprised. So was Buhle, in part from learning through the research about "the role of Liberation Theology in the 80s, when it looked like LT was replacing Communism as the ideology of the rising masses, at least in Latin America." A gentile who learned Yiddish "as the history of that part of the Left," Buhle has shown he has always been open to discovering new things. "Look, see what people are doing, and learn from them." Even Jesus, it seems, who has a message for any aspiring activists: it's all about the compassion. Happiness and fulfillment can only be achieved from caring more about others than about yourself. Don't hoard money. Help the poor. Love your enemies…Whoa! Now that last one is too radical for me!

If we make fuel out of this, it'll turn the entire world into dead goop within two weeks.
What's the projected profit margin?
Hm... should I choose the brand that's destroying the rainforest, the one that murders union organizers, or the one that poisons children?
SALE
I persuaded this market fair and square. Let the compulsory purchasing of my Rebuilding Democracy Services™ commence!

Cartoons by Stephanie McMillan

A section from Radical Jesus, "The Rich Man and Lazarus," by Jones, also appears in the latest issue of World War 3 Illustrated. The theme of No. 45 is "Before and After" which is a nice way of calling it the Death issue (that's the "After" part). There are many personal pieces by contributors which makes this one feel a little more intimate than the typical WW3. The magazine opens with a powerful, gut-wrenching comic by Tom Hart about the death of his young daughter; that's followed by a poetic interpretation of a Hans Christian Andersen's story "Death and the Mother," by Ruth Lindford. Then there are four fact-based pages by Steve Brodner: one documents a day in the life of America, via gun-related deaths; the second piece is a humorous look at gun lobbies and how they "shape" our legislators. And it's like that throughout the issue, a sprinkling of funny strips, personal strips and political strips—each finding its own surprising way to bounce off the dark topic. Overall, the issue never seems to become too oppressive—which is a damn good thing, given that it's all about...well, you know.

Other highlights include newcomer Hayley Gold's memoir about the kind of the dance with death she experienced growing up with an eating disorder. Co-founders of the magazine, Seth Tobocman and Peter Kuper, explore the passing of parents in very different, but equally poignant ways. Long-time contributors have also turned in some of their best work for the issue: Sandy Jimenez addresses the death of dreams and relationships; Mac McGill has created incredible psychedelic imagery to "Illuminate" terminal patients' testimonies of LSD trips (as part of their end-of-life therapy); Kevin C. Pyle reflects on art that celebrates Death in "Memento Mori," a piece that serves to comment on the theme of the entire issue (both death...and doing art about it).

There's too much great work to list it all here because—literally—there is too much work! It's a HUGE anthology…one of WW3's largest at 160 pages! How do I know that? Because I've co-edited a number of issues of WW3 in the past, including this one (with the help of the aforementioned Mr. Kuper). Now, you may ask, how can this guy review a magazine he co-edited? And to that, all I can ask is that you try to be more like Jesus…and forgive me!

Okay, we destroyed your economy, killed your families, stole your land. Our bad.
But today we're prepared to offer you a glamorous job in our new factory!

9/11 MUSEUM & MEMORIAL SILENT ON WTC7

By Les Jamieson

May 28, 2014

I toured the recently opened 9/11 Museum last night. There is quite a bit to report. The size and scale of the building and many sections are actually impressive. One can see how the general public will be very taken by the entire presentation, and therefore, take what they see as truth.

However, if the original intent of the museum was to pay homage to those who perished, the exhibits are far off the mark. Instead, the creators have co opted the tragedy to substantiate the official narrative. The museum just solidifies the shock & awe of the events of 9/11, and gives the public a visual and auditory experience that will be firmly etched in their memory far into the future.

There are exhibits on each of the towers. There are photos of their original construction. There were sections of steel columns, elevator parts, and parts of the foundation. There were displays of personal items of those who perished. There were many audio recordings with slide shows being projected of pictures of victims, survivors, and onlookers in a state of terror. There are film clips, and transcripts of conversations from that day. There is an ambulance and a firetruck which show the damage from the debris. There are videos of the towers on fire. There are even photos of people jumping. Then there are even large videos of the demolition of each tower. But by the time people view these, they've been thoroughly distracted and emotionally overcome by the magnitude of the horror people experienced that day, so they cannot recognize the implications of the disintegration and free fall of 110 stories of steel framed structures.

There is a section on Osama Bin Laden, the alleged hijackers, Kaleed Sheikh Mohammed, and Al Qaeda. There were two film clips of hijackers passing through the airports. However, the one from Dulles has no time stamp and I think the only other one is actually taken from Portland, ME, not Logan Airport. Nevertheless, people viewing this display were shown exactly who the official narrative wants the blame to be attributed to.

To my surprise, there was even a small section on the public's questioning of the events. This included photos of people calling for investigations, protesters claiming 9/11 was an inside job, and the cover of Popular Mechanics which supposedly debunked all those "conspiracy theories". At least the museum planners can attempt to say they were thorough in addressing all of the "focus groups". But this small section did nothing to go into the broad scope of alternative research based on science and journalistic analysis. If only they had a copy of The New Pearl Harbor by David Ray Griffin next to a copy of "Rebuilding America's Defenses".

Then, of course, there were quilts, photos, and artifacts that good hearted Americans created in tribute to those who suffered and died. There were photos and statements about how we all came together and rose above the tragedy because we're resilient and won't be defeated. After all, we have to keep up our "American exceptionalism". The framers of the official account took an unspeakable tragedy and turned it into a cause for patriotism.

There was a digital presentation showing the flight paths. There where photos of Shanksville and the Pentagon. But by now you may be noticing there's a glaring omission to this report. There is nothing on WTC7! I still can't believe it when the museum covers so much of everything else.

There are many messages that can be framed in response to the museum. The absence of information on WTC7 gives us a wide open door. The question by the Rethink911 campaign says it plainly and clearly "Did you know a 3rd tower fell on 9/11". Now we can also ask "Did you know the 9/11 Museum is silent on the fact that a 3rd tower fell on 9/11?". The next paragraph can state "With a cost of $700 million for the memorial and museum, how can there be no coverage of a 3rd tower than fell which wasn't even hit by a plane?"

To add further weight to this proposition, just think how the truth about WTC7 actually changes the meaning of everything in the museum! Just think how the entire official narrative caves in on itself. It boggles the mind...

The alternative flyer by Architects & Engineers for 9/11 Truth is an essential educational tool. The cover looks similar to the official pamplet, except it says "9/11 Reality: Welcome to the other story about 9/11." This is the Visitor Guide For Truth Seekers. With the thousands of people visiting the 9/11 Memorial and 9/11 Museum daily, distributing these flyers is a huge opportunity to open the eyes of the public. This is our chance to counter the deliberate distortion of history. I urge us all to meet the challenge.

[See www.ae911truth.org for more on the organization's research and efforts. If you'd like to participate in local outreach actions, please send an email to: kdavid@ae911truth.org with "AE Volunteer" in the subject line. Please include your name and contact number.]

ARCHITECTS & ENGINEERS *for* 9/11 TRUTH

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Visit AE911Truth.org for more information

THE JEFF KOONS BUNNY

By Roberta Walters

If you've passed through Astor Place lately, you've probably noticed a 14 foot tall red metal balloon bunny. Jeff Koons' Red Rabbit is installed inside the hyper surveillanced glass lobby of 51 Astor Place, developed by Edward Minskoff on property leased from Cooper Union School. Along with the Starbucks Siren, the K Mart K, and the Chase swastika, the candy red, mirror polished sculpture represents the changing identity of corporate Astor Place.

In perfectly pitched irony, blue collar artists have been replaced by blue chip art stock. No one is neutral about the bunny. When I stopped in, the security guard told me that a steady stream of people photograph it during the day (two people walked in and started snapping away while we were talking). "It's beautiful," one of them said. I asked the guard what he thought. "Give me an Old Masters oil painting any day," he said. "That's all I'd like to say about the rabbit." I told him the sculptor himself collected Old Masters. "Then," he responded, "he's smarter than I thought."

The developer leased the land from Cooper Union for 99 years for $97 million, and is filling it with tenants at a reported $80 $118 per square foot. IBM beat out Twitter for an anchor spot, and both Microsoft and Facebook were shopping the building. First dibs, St John's University's business school, and MailOnline, which is responsible for the Daily Mail website, have both signed leases, and Claren Road Asset Management has taken the most expensive top level. The Real Deal and Real Estate Weekly both report that this was probably the most expensive new commercial lease in "Midtown South" in the first quarter of 2014. Midtown South?

I can't help but notice that the bunny seems uncomfortable in its surroundings. Does Minskoff not understand that he has plopped an enormous symbol of billionaire decadence—one of the world's most expensive sculptures, which literally resembles a giant plaything for the ultra rich—into the middle of an area beleaguered by rapidly expanding income inequality? While developers and real estate tycoons cash in on the East Village's artistic and bohemian history, young artists are already priced out.

A gutsy billboard, placed by Manhattan Mini Storage over the High Line and the Chelsea gallery district, reads, "The French aristocracy never saw it coming, either." Standing in the square, looking through the glass partition at a 14 foot bunny, one can almost hear Marie Antoinette's famous words. "The people have no bread? Then let them eat cake." Can't afford housing? Here's some art.

But I want to know what the bunny thinks.

R. Walters: You're a pretty controversial figure around here, if you believe what you read on the internet. How are the neighbors treating you? Do you get your coffee at Starbucks, and bank at Chase?

Koons Rabbit: Well, the neighbors photograph me a lot. I can't drink Starbucks or I'll rust, but I like the K mart logo because it is the same color as me. I also think about how there are thousands of shiny parts inside, just like me. I like Chase fine—they collect Koons too. I have a bit of a superiority complex, though. I am a lot better at making money than they are. And as an artwork, I am traded with almost no regulation.

RW: The last Koons balloon animal, a 12 foot dog, sold for $58.4 million at Christie's Post War and Contemporary Art Evening Sale in New York. That's 1/5 the price of this entire building. Do you think you are here to help justify some of the highest rents in the country? Do you have dreams, or are you just a marketing tool?

KR: Of course I have dreams. I'm not just billionaire bait. I have feelings too.

RW: You do seem a little sad in this big lobby, all exposed. Are you worried about another superstorm, like Sandy?

KR: I'm waiting for it. My greatest dream is travel. When the big one hits, this building will be destroyed and I'll be set free. I'll float down the Bowery right out to sea… hopefully, I'll finally get to see Europe. Of course, it might not be around by that time either.

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STANLEY COHEN

Continued from page 17

could make an example of me [with a longer sentence] and let me withdraw my plea. Or the judge can look at the support for me and say six months is enough and allow the government to withdraw their plea deal. [A SHADOW investigation has revealed that judge Norman Mordue has been selected for Stanley's sentencing, since he has a reputation as the most pro-government judge in the district and doesn't like Stanley, who embarrassed him in oral argument in the 2nd circuit court two years ago.]

The SHADOW: What about your law license?

Stanley: This resolution is not a crime in NY State—this does not mean an automatic loss of my license. Whether or not I get jail time, the disposition will be reviewed by the "committee on fitness", which can then decide on either sanction, suspension or disbarment, or nothing.

The SHADOW: What will you do if you do have to serve time?

Stanley: If jailed, I will sleep, I will probably write a book and I will help a lot of prisoners fuck with the US government, in no particular order.

[Updates on Stanley's status can be seen at: www.istanleycohen.org. Contribute to the Stanley L. Cohen Defense Fund by sending your check or money order payable to: Randolph E. Daar, Special Attorney Trust Account

(Memo: Stanley L. Cohen Defense Fund), Pier 5 Lawfirm, 506 Broadway, San Francisco, California 94133. Your contribution by check, money order, direct deposit or wire transfer assures that 100% of your support goes toward Stanley's defense.]

Stanley Cohen and Lynne Stewart

STANLEY'S FAVORITE CASES:

When asked by The SHADOW for his favorite clients and cases, Stanley gave us the following:

- Extradition of Mousa Abu Marzook (1995 1997)—successful defense against efforts by Israel to extradite leader of Hamas' political wing to stand trial for bombings in that country.
- The Mohawk Warrior Society—including several armed confrontations against state and federal law enforcement and military by Native Americans. [Stanley was arrested and charged by Canada in 1990 with "seditious conspiracy"—the case was later dismissed, as Stanley was and is not a Canadian citizen.]
- East 13th Street Squatters—which sued for adverse possession of five NYC buildings in New York State Supreme Court; other Lower East Side squats and squatters.
- Tompkins Square Park activists (1988 1995)—including defense of Tent City, when homeless and supporters occupied the park with improvised housing; the Tompkins Square "fire barrel case", in which Stanley successfully challenged the city's attempt to extinguish fire barrels in the park, the sole source of heat for homeless living in park; the fight against the midnight park curfew.
- Sulaiman Abu Ghayth—son-in-law of alleged 9-11 mastermind Osama bin-Laden, whom Stanley says was guilty only of "ugly speech and a bad choice of friends," adding: "It's important for an American jury to look above and beyond hatred and pain and the thirst for retaliation for 9-11. Not one drop of evidence connected him with conspiracy to murder Americans anywhere at any time—the government witnesses agreed."
- Larry Davis—acquitted of shooting six police officers in South Bronx police corruption case.
- José Ortiz—accused hit man allegedly sent to New York City by the Nyetas street gang in Puerto Rico to assassinate a police captain in the South Bronx, in retribution for the 1994 killing of Anthony Baez by P.O. Francis Livoti.
- Moutaz Al Hallah—an Imam suspected of involvement in the 9-11 attacks, co-conspirator in the twin embassy bombings, and the bombing of the USS Cole.
- His lawsuit against Israel and the United States Government on behalf of Palestinians for war crimes, crimes against humanity and violation of the Arms Export Control Act.
- The "Pay Pal 14" (members of hacktivist group Anonymous)—charged with shutting down Pay Pal in retaliation for Pay Pal shutting down WikiLeaks' Pay Pal account being used to raise funds for the defense of WikiLeaks editor-in-chief Julian Assange.
- A woman arrested for dancing naked at the Dutchess County Art Festival—the charges were dismissed due to First Amendment-protected freedom of expression.

It should also be noted that Stanley has served as house counsel for The SHADOW. Of the many false arrests of editor Chris Flash by the NYPD over the years in the course of covering events for The SHADOW, all were dismissed through Stanley's efforts.

[These and other cases and work done by Stanley can be seen in more detail at: [http://istanleycohen.org/index.php/cases]

DAVID GILBERT INTERVIEW

Continued from page 15

people who, despite feeling isolated, stood fast in the trenches to oppose that onslaught. There are a number of valuable organizations, involving some outstanding individuals, but rather than attempt a list here, I'll refer readers to the appendix in Dan Berger's The Struggle Within (PM Press, 2014). So there was always a clear voice opposing that trend.

Then, since 2010, Michelle Alexander's The New Jim Crow (NJC) has had a tremendous impact. The timing was right since the mainstream was finally opening a bit to looking at these issues. There are valid criticisms about what NJC left out—some of the most central realities like the history of revolutionary Black struggle, and the broader context of how the U.S. maintains a global empire of exploitation. But the book provides a powerful, undeniable indictment of the fundamental racism of the criminal justice system, and that's been a big plus for the anti prison movement.

Naturally, those on the top are only considering minimal reforms, to save a little money and to clean up a sullied image, in the interest of maintaining the overall repressive, punitive nature of the system. And they'll be ready to revive the "tough on crime" demagogy if they feel they need it. So it's up to us who are or stand with the oppressed to take this opening to generate a movement that wins major, qualitative change.

SHADOW: How do you see the relationship between mass incarceration and political prisoners?

DG: In the "Certain Days" piece, I say that the government's illegal campaign to destroy the radical movements and the drive toward mass incarceration were twins, evil twins, conceived as part of the same counter offensive. Standing in opposition is a unity between prison struggles and efforts for and by political prisoners.

In the 1970s, a key cause we fought for was prisoners' rights. And once incarcerated, many of us have contributed—as writers, educators, initiators of parenting programs, jailhouse lawyers, AIDS activists. And it goes in both directions. The solidarity many prisoners showed Marilyn Buck, an inspiring example of a white person who was consistently anti racist, was released just a couple of weeks before she died of cancer in 2010. There's Merle Africa who died in prison in Pennsylvania, Native American political prisoner Eddie Hatcher, and far too many more nationwide.

That reality makes current medical issues all the more urgent. Seth Hayes' diabetes has been badly mismanaged for years now. Jalil Muntaqim and Mutulu Shakur each had minor strokes with inadequate follow up therapy. It took years for Tom Manning to get sorely needed joint replacement surgeries. Right now Abdullah Majid is in dire pain from a sciatica.

I'm not able to be on top of and up to date on all the situations. I'd encourage people to go to the Jericho and abcf websites and also to the defense committees for specific political prisoners.

Many SHADOW readers know that we just had a major, long fought campaign, to get the spirited, radical attorney Lynne Stewart—and it's a travesty that she was locked up in the first place—compassionate release from federal prison, where her breast cancer proceeded to stage IV. We've had some successes in campaigns to win better medical care, but lots of setbacks, too. There's a long, long way to go—not just for political prisoners, but around prison health care in general.

SHADOW: Who are the political prisoners in New York State, and what is their current status?

DG: New York State is holding several ex Panthers and BLAers, including Herman Bell, Seth Hayes, Jalil Muntaqim, Abdullah Majid, Sekou Odinga. My own

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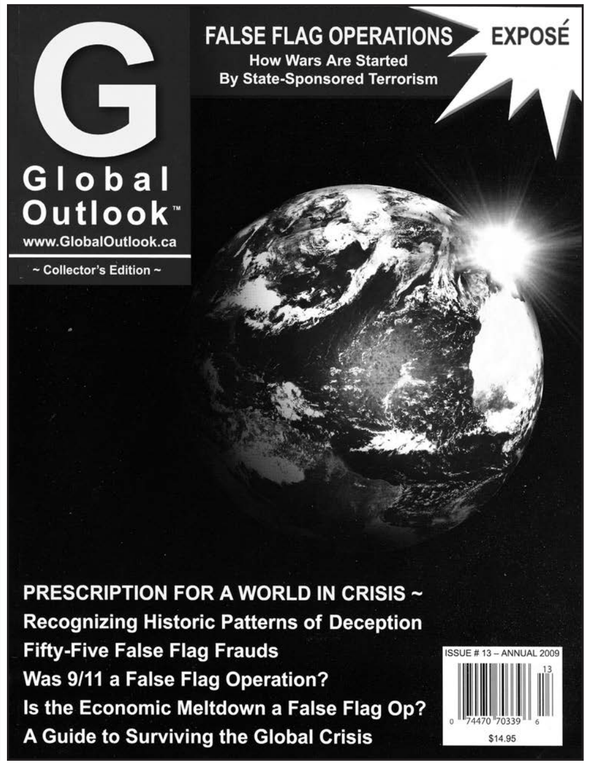
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David Gilbert Interview

Continued from previous page

case results from being an anti racist ally of the Black movement. Mohamman Koti and Maliki Shakur have been in since the 1970s with cases related to the Black liberation struggle.

All of us have been in prison for over 30 years. Seth, Herman, Jalil for well over 40. Whenever any of those three go to the parole board—in New York State it's every 2 years—he gets another 2 year "hit," despite having an outstanding prison record and tremendous community support.

Koti just went to something like his 6th board. He's 88 years old with multiple, very serious medical issues, and he just got another 2 year hit despite a great prison record.

What's happening to those political prisoners is a particularly intense example of how the board regularly denies parole to many who are worthy. Organizing against that, such as with the Release Aging People in Prison [RAPP] project, is another example of the common ground for political prisoners and all prisoners.

SHADOW: Do you feel that students at law schools and universities in general have protested enough against continued incarceration of political prisoners like yourself?

DG: Well, of course there should be more protest about that, as well as a host of other vital issues. We need much bigger and more active radical movements on the range of ways imperialism is oppressing humans and destroying nature.

To me, the point of political prisoner work is not so much sympathy for the individuals involved—although that's certainly a valid consideration. But even more, to understand and develop the continuity of struggles involved. The reality of political prisoners is a way—one of many—to give lie to the U.S. government's claim to being a beacon of human rights. And it's a very important and helpful way for today's activists to incorporate how the struggles against injustice have been going on for decades—and will have to continue for decades more.

SHADOW: How has the world changed since you were last interviewed by The SHADOW in 1991?

DG: Wow, there's been a lot more change than I can adequately address here. The central reality is the same: a world defined by colossal and unconscionable polarization of wealth—and that's only gotten worse.

Today, 85 individuals own more wealth (wealth involves more than income, and includes assets like property and investments) than the poorest 3.5 billion people. And that means a billion people are living without adequate food and/or water, let alone shelter, medical care and education. Every year 9 million children under the age of 5 die from malnutrition and other easily preventable causes.

So, we have the same basic feature of the world—gross inequality—but even worse. An important change is how dire the environmental threats have become. I mean we've known about the problems, and protested some of them, since Rachel Carson's Silent Spring [was published] in 1962. But we're reaching a point where capitalism's rapaciousness threatens the collapse of entire ecosystems and has us catapulting toward irreversible climate change catastrophe.

SHADOW: Why, in your opinion, was the post 2011 Occupy Movement not as politically effective as the Black Liberation Movement and New Left of the 1960s?

DG: Well, first of all, the Occupy movement was a breath of fresh air. They broke through a media juggernaut that totally misdefined the issues. After 30 years of mainstream politics totally dominated by racially coded scape-goating—directing people's frustrations against criminals, welfare mothers and immigrants—finally a loud public voice pointed to the real source of our problems. Their efforts to be more democratic and less sectarian than earlier movement generations were important, if uneven.

At the same time, a spontaneous and predominantly white movement will inevitably have giant problems of internalized racism and sexism. That will undermine us if we don't take it on in a conscious and open hearted way. I greatly appreciate the People of Color [POC] groups who, despite encountering some galling backwardness, engaged with various Occupies—like the POC Working Group at Occupy Wall Street, the Decolonize Portland and the very strong leadership provided by POC for Occupy Oakland.

Occupy hasn't been able to continue as a coherent, visible force. But it has generated a lot of new activism.

There's a tendency to retrospectively glorify the 1960s—we certainly had a lot of shortcomings back then. Yes, the movements had a lot more impact. But the comparison isn't fair.

We were inspired and heartened by the era of national liberation—anti colonial struggles were raging around the world, in Asia, Africa, and Latin America, and often winning. Those successes, in turn, helped inspire Black liberation, Native American, Puerto Rican, Chicano and Asian struggles here at home. So there was a much different sense of scope of struggle and potential for victories.

People in the Global South are still waging crucial struggles, but we have less sense of revolution sweeping the globe. And within the U.S. we have an incredible range of organizing going on a wide gamut of issues—from global warming to electronic surveillance and everything in between. And I must say that the young activists who write me are a lot less arrogant than I was, than we were, at that age.

But what's missing is the sense of a strong overall movement challenging the system as a whole.

SHADOW: How can people best contribute to radical social change today?

DG: First, I salute those who are out there organizing and protesting. They're grappling with many issues—how to have both democracy and effective organization, how to build coalitions and deal with the plethora of urgent issues, how to best deal with internalized racism and sexism,…and a whole lot more.

At the risk of being a bit platitudinous, I'll just stress a couple of very general thoughts. I think that internationalism is crucial. It's not just that the vast majority and the most oppressed live in the Global South. But even more that we can look there for the most advanced and instructive efforts for fundamental change.

There are all kinds of lessons, from the efforts to build a humane, democratic socialism in Venezuela to village wide mobilizations against environmentally damaging dams in India to women led struggles against neocolonialism and for food sovereignty in Kenya. Climate change is a stark reminder that we all live in one world, and we could do more to incorporate leadership from the South, such as the Cochabamba (Bolivia) Declaration on global warming.

For white activists today, we need to always be looking for ways to build solidarity with People of Color movements. The centrality of white supremacy underscores the value of the growing movement against the criminal justice system because it's a cutting edge of racism today.

Feminist issues and demands are crucially important. Also we all need to do ongoing work on our internalized racism, sexism, homo and transphobia and all the ways people are demeaned. If done in an open hearted way, it's not "divisive". Quite the opposite, it's the only route to overcoming the terrible divisions caused by oppression.

And for young activists, I want to encourage a sense of history. The very real, needed sense of urgency has to be joined to an understanding that fundamental change doesn't come easily. We're in this for the long haul. Given what's at stake, it's well worth giving it our all. A humane and sustainable world is not only necessary. It just may be, if we all give our best effort, possible.

On Hyper-Gentrification

Continued from page 2

generalized gentrification spreads out to more distant neighborhoods. (5.) Finally, this third wave is unregulated, free-market gentrification, independent of public financing and therefore unaccountable to larger social needs. It is the first brand of gentrification to enjoy "the full weight of private-market finance." It's gentrification that says (in my words), "I can live wherever I want and do whatever I want, because I have the money to do it."

In my 2011 interview with Smith, he described exactly what the difference between gentrification to hyper-gentrification looks like, saying, "If the rehabilitation of a brownstone in the West Village or Park Slope typified gentrification in the 1970s, by the 1990s and 2000s it was the disneyfication of Times Square, the condominium frenzy on the Bowery, and a corporate fill-in of the previously low-rent spaces feeding out from Manhattan--Williamsburg, Fort Greene, Cobble Hill, Carroll Gardens, etc., and now the super-funded Gowanus."

What if gentrification had been left alone, never adopted by the government and its corporate cronies, not shot up with steroids, allowed to develop at its own pace, in its own way? It's hard to imagine that brand of gentrification—still regulated, not infused with global capital, not juiced on a revanchist rage to take back the city—and maybe it's too idealistic to try. I suspect we would still have gentrification and the problems that come with it, but without government-corporate partnerships directing its growth, it would surely be a smaller, more manageable beast.

In order to even begin exploring the city's other options, New Yorkers first have to stop deluding themselves into believing that today's hyper-gentrification is the same old thing. We all have to stop saying, "New York always changes, so this is normal." This is not normal. This is state sponsored, corporate driven, turbo charged, far flung, and impossible to stop in its current form. Hyper-gentrification is the Thing That Ate New York, the Blob, the choose your monster-movie metaphor, an ever-growing, ever-devouring beast that will not be satisfied until there's nothing left.

[See Jeremiah's blog "Vanishing New York, aka The Book Of Lamentations: A Bitter Nostalgic Look At A City In The Process of Going Extinct" at: http://vanishingnewyork.blogspot.com]

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DE BLASIO

Continued from page 6

a massive increase in arrests, not only of panhandlers, but also of subway musicians and dancers, was implemented by the NYPD, tripling the number of arrests and summonses for these offenses over the corresponding period of 2013.

There has also been a concerted effort to drive street peddlers off of Manhattan's sidewalks. Petty laws on pedestrian accessibility have once again been invoked to deprive first amendment protected book and magazine vendors of their right to do business. de Blasio has defended these policies in words that could have come directly from the Manhattan Institute itself: "We have to go after the small crimes as well as the big crimes," he told the New York Observer on March 24, 2014.

IS DE BLASIO ANY GOOD AT ALL?

Whether the election of Bill de Blasio represents any kind of change in the way things are done in New York remains to be seen. Decades of control by Rockefeller Republicans in Albany have severely curtailed New York City's ability to control its own destiny. The state legislature has put in place laws that restrict the right of New York City government to enact rent regulations that are more strict than those enacted at the state level; the city's right to tax is circumscribed by what the state will allow, and we are not even allowed to introduce speed limits stricter than those passed by the Albany legislators.

The ruling class of New York probably feels less threatened by De Blasio's progressive rhetoric than one might expect simply because the mayor of New York City and the New York City Council do not have the power to do them very much damage. Because of the unwillingness of the state legislature and Governor Andrew Cuomo to cooperate, de Blasio's plan to finance pre-kindergarten with a tax on those making over $500,000 per year failed, and the rest of NYC taxpayers are now stuck with the bill.

The United States of America, like every other national entity that has ever existed, has a ruling class that reserves the wealth of society to serve its own pleasures and priorities. In the U.S., the ruling class uses the two party system as a buffer to protect itself from revolutions. In recent times, the idea has been that the Democratic Party must be able to adapt in such a way as to co opt any inkling of a revolutionary movement and soak up the social unrest. In some cases, this even ends up costing the ruling class money, although the cheap bastards fight like hell to avoid that.

Franklin D. Roosevelt brought the nation Social Security not because he was a good guy, but because he was a member of the ruling class who knew that some real concessions were needed to contain the unrest at the bottom of society. Social Security is no trifle, and neither is affordable housing, decent education, or our human rights vis a vis the police. If de Blasio is going to deliver on any of the promises that he has made in these areas, it will only be because we keep up the pressure from below.

How much or how little he will ultimately do will depend on how well the grass roots movements that he is supposed to co opt continue to do their job. For this, people genuinely concerned about New York will have to resist the temptation to rely on de Blasio, Hillary Clinton, and their half-assed promises.

GOT A TIP?
CONTACT THE SHADOW

"HURRICANE" CARTER: 1937–2014

Continued from page 3

Alfred Bello, the only witness who testified at the second trial identifying Carter and Artis, by threatening him that he would be prosecuted for perjury if he didn't tell the story that he had at the first trial. They did so by misrepresenting the results of a lie detector test, which the prosecution claimed supported Bello's testimony at the first trial, when in fact it did just the opposite. The way the lie detector test results were phrased, defense attorneys were unaware of the deceit. And when I was questioning Bello at trial as to how and why the prosecution had wrongfully convinced him to recant his recantation, I was blocked by a ruling made by the judge, based on the prosecutor's representation, that the jury would then be told that the lie detector tests supported Bello's identification of Carter and Artis. This was a complete fraud. The prosecution misrepresented the results of the lie detector test. I uncovered that fraud just before the sentencing in 1976, when I learned from the person who had given the lie detector test that the results were opposite to what they seemed to be. But our motion to set aside the conviction was denied and Carter and Artis were again sent back to prison.

That was only the beginning of a long appellate struggle with numerous side and back steps, including hearings about jury misconduct issues and discovery of other instances of prosecutorial misconduct. This time around, in New Jersey's highest court, we lost by one vote: 4–3 affirming the convictions.

It wasn't until a decision by federal Judge Sarokin in 1985 that the convictions were set aside because of the suppression of the actual results of the lie detector test and the improper and discriminatory prosecution theory that the killings at the Lafayette bar were the result of racial revenge by Carter and Artis, who were black, in retaliation for an earlier unconnected homicide the same night, where a black bar owner was shot to death by a white man who had previously owned the bar.

Carter was a very special client. He worked with the attorneys in analyzing the issues and preparing papers and helped guide our investigations. By the time the overturned convictions were finally confirmed by the United States Supreme Court in 1988, Carter had moved to Canada to be with supporters who had helped us in the appeals. He never looked back. He dedicated himself to working to help exonerate wrongfully convicted persons.

During his last years and last illness, he was joined by the ever loyal and noble John Artis, who came to live with Rubin in Toronto.

Rubin's life and case should continue to inspire all those opposing unjust convictions due to police and prosecutorial misconduct.

[Mr. Beldock is senior law firm partner at Beldock Levine & Hoffman LLP]

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AL GOLDSTEIN: 1936–2013

Continued from page 3

extolling the virtues of the school and telling why people should enroll—as hosted by Al Goldstein.

When he heard about the show, I could swear his eyes got a misty, almost wistful look, like he was thinking, "Eeehhh, they still remembah me. . . (wheeze) Those fuckahs still remembah Al Goldstein. . ." He seemed genuinely touched, until he snapped out of his reverie and got back to the matter at hand.

"Get me in," he said. "I have to see this." Not wanting to disappoint Al—regardless of how he treated his employees, for some reason we never wanted to disappoint him—I assured him he'd see the show.

And he did. He brought a few friends, I brought my girlfriend at the time, and we sat in a room with about 30 or so other people, some of whom had a hard time believing that Al Goldstein, the Al Goldstein, actually walked among them and watched the show. Needless to say, he loved the skit (or at least its subject matter), so his reward for a job well done (mine, not theirs) was an invitation to dinner. Food was not just Al's obsession, not just his weakness, it was also his way of showing appreciation. And you should have seen those eyes light up when he'd describe a great meal at Spago. . . .

I once saw those eyes express an emotion as close to flat-out joy as they could get when I told the then-quadruply-divorced Goldstein that my wife at the time had left me (beat) to go attend the Sex Maniac's Ball in London, which she'd be covering for the magazine. He acknowledged the joke, let out a begrudging chuckle, then his eyes reverted to the vague glaze they'd have when someone said something he didn't really give a shit about.

I also saw those eyes boil over, more times than I'd like to admit, into twin pools of deep-seated rage when something happened that he could be legitimately angry about, as opposed to the pedestrian-level rage he felt when, say, his cholent wasn't prepared the way he wanted.

The only time his eyes betrayed no emotion was when he knew he was full of shit. I'd made the mistake one day of asking Al out for a drink to thank him for the dinners he'd taken me to; he kind of looked away and said something along the lines of, "Eeehhh, not if there won't be any pussy for me to eat." (I found out later that even though he'd turned down my offer, he did respect it.)

Al could never look you in the eye if you were showing him a true emotion or trying to relate to him on something resembling a human level; he might be looking you square in the face, but if you paid attention, you could tell his eyes were just the slightest bit unfocused, or he might be looking slightly over your shoulder, because if he couldn't see you, you couldn't see through those windows to his soul and realize, well, just how existentially empty he sometimes was.

Al Goldstein's eyes closed for the last time on December 19, 2013, in a Cobble Hill, Brooklyn, nursing home, less than a month before his 78th birthday. Like a shmuck, he had pissed away a not inconsiderable fortune, he was estranged from family and many former friends, and he had no home to speak of. Word had been making the rounds for a few weeks that he was in failing health, and he was possibly suffering from dementia (which seemed to be selective; one friend who visited him told me that when Al wasn't wondering where the fuck his Jell-O was, he was asking the on-duty nurse for a blowjob). In his final days, his hands were reportedly taped inside some kind of medical mitten to keep him from pulling the feeding tube out of his mouth—and if Al Goldstein didn't want to eat, you knew the end was near.

I was, unlike lots of people, sorry to hear that Al had died. I wasn't sad—sadness about someone's death is really for the living left behind, not for those who have passed on—but I was really very sorry. I was sorry Al Goldstein was dead because in the seven years I worked for him, he gave me the greatest gift a writer can ask for: The freedom to express myself exactly as I wanted. As long as what I wrote was my opinion, a satire or the truth (or one of the no-holds-barred editorial hit jobs he ordered on his seemingly endless list of enemies), it had a place in Screw magazine. I was also sorry that I'd never taken the opportunity to thank him for that freedom.

Mostly I was sorry because for the first time since 1968, when the premiere issue of Screw hit the stands, New York City didn't have Al Goldstein walking its streets—and this city needs Al Goldstein now more than ever. This city needs someone to say "Fuck you" to the developers buying low and selling high and pushing the middle class out to make way for condos and banks and NYU dormitories. This city needs someone to stand up for the little guy, whether they've wrongly received a parking ticket or FedEx has delivered a box crushed beyond recognition. This city just needs Al Goldstein, period.

So thanks for everything, Al, you fucking maniac. It's a shame we'll never see another one like you….

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The SHADOW and everything published by Shadow Press is available in bulk at wholesale rates. Please inquire for details.

FROM OTHER SOURCES:

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• **WAR IN THE NEIGHBORHOOD**: World War Three Illustrated co-founder and editor Seth Tobocman documents a decade of struggle against police brutality + gentrification on the Lower East Side by way of stories told in Tobocman's unique black and white drawings. This out of print book sells for up to $100 on Amazon. 328 pgs. $50.00 + $4 shipping.

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VIDEOS:

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• **911: IN PLANE SITE**: Power Hour radio show host Dave von Kleist (www.thepowerhour.com) presents and analyzes mainstream media footage to raise questions about what type of planes hit the WTC twin towers and the Pentagon on Sept. 11, 2001, WTC leaseholder Larry Silverstein's admission of decision to "pull" 7 WTC, interviews with firefighters who heard explosions throughout the WTC towers before they collapsed, and other footage broadcast only once and never seen again. Extras include local Oklahoma City TV news reports on April 19, 1995 on several high-powered explosives discovered in and removed from the Murrah Federal Bldg after the first explosion. These reports were killed by the following day and were not seen again!! Approx. 60 min. (DVD) $6.00.

• **LOOSE CHANGE 2**: A great companion to 911: In Plane Site, emphasizes controlled demolitions as the cause of the WTC collapses, examines Pentagon and WTC hits, black boxes, reports of WTC explosions, footage of explosives bursting from sides of twin towers, the shooting down of Flight #93 over PA, cell phone calls from passengers, phoney Bin Laden footage used by media, and more. Approx. Highly recommended! 60 min. (DVD) $6.00.

• **UNCOVERED: The Whole Truth About The Iraq War**: Takes you behind the walls of government, as CIA, Pentagon and foreign service experts speak out, many for the first time, detailing lies, misstatements and exaggerations that served as the reasons to fight a "pre-emptive" war that wasn't necessary. This documentary offers an in depth look at the unsettling distortion of intelligence and "spin and hype" presented to the American people, the Congress and the press. Fighting wars to bring about regime change is in breach of international law, yet, throughout the Fall of 2002, and into the weeks preceding the invasion of Iraq in March 2003, the Bush administration systematically distorted intelligence evidence and misled the public in order to turn opinion in favor of "regime change" in Iraq. Features interviews with more than 20 experts and footage of Bush and his cabinet members repeatedly insisting they have verifiable proof of Iraq's WMD. 56 min. (DVD) $10.00.

• **OUTFOXED: Rupert Murdoch's War On Journalism:** "Fair and balanced"??? How about anything BUT?!?! For the first time ever, this documentary reveals the secrets of former Fox news producers, reporters, bookers and writers who expose what it's like to work for Fox News. These former Fox employees talk about how they were forced to push a "right wing" point of view or risk their jobs. Examines media mogul Rupert Murdoch and his Australian company, News Corp., tracing how the Federal Communications Commission (FCC) helped Murdoch break the rules to establish a fourth network in the US. Many extras. (DVD) $10.00.

• **UNCONSTITUTIONAL: The War On Our Civil Liberties**: Made in conjunction with the ACLU; details the shocking way that civil liberties of American citizens and immigrants alike have been infringed upon, curtailed, and rolled back since 9/11 and the USA PATRIOT Act, with facts and stories that illuminate administration lies, wrong-headed policies, and the real victims of these actions—the American people. 60 min. (DVD) $10.00.

UNCONSTITUTIONAL
The War On Our Civil Liberties
From the Producer & Director of OUTFOXED and UNCOVERED – Robert Greenwald

• **PAINFUL DECEPTIONS: An Analysis of the September 11th Attack**: (A video supplement to the book Painful Questions by Eric Hufschmid) Could Osama Bin Laden pull off such a devastating attack? Can steel buildings collapse and crumble into dust? Did an unseen jet liner hit the Pentagon? These and other questions are answered in this powerfully analyzed, scientifically accurate presentation. Approx. 90 min. (DVD) $10.00.

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• **TOMPKINS SQUARE PARK: OPERATION CLASS WARFARE ON THE LOWER EAST SIDE**: This 1992 documentary pieces together the unofficial story behind the Tompkins Square Police Riot of 1988 and reveals the ugly side of forced gentrification in New York City, tracing the transformation of Tompkins Square Park from a tent city for homeless people and bastion of free expression for artists, bohemians, rebels and crazies, to a central battleground in the fiercely contested class war over the Lower East Side; to a riot scene complete with burning trash cans and unwarranted police violence; to an empty, fenced in wasteland; and finally, to the safe and sterile environment it is today. Features interviews with people who lived in the park, those that defended their right to do so, and footage from the riots, rallies and protests that occurred in and around the park. 60 min. (DVD) $10.00.

• **TAKE OVER**: This 1990 documentary by Pam Yates and Peter Kinoy was shot simultaneously in eight U.S. cities on May 1, 1990 as homeless people risked arrest by occupying properties foreclosed by the Federal government. (DVD) $10.00.

• **YOUR HOUSE IS MINE**: This 2004 documentary by Caroline McCaughey covers the history of squatting in the Lower East Side of Manhattan from the early 1980's to 2004, as told by squatters and details the deal made by squatters with housing group UHAB to keep their homes. (DVD) $10.00.

• **BUSH FAMILY FORTUNES**: Award winning reporter sleuth Greg Palast on the trail of the Bush family, from the 2000 Florida election finagling, to the Saudi connection, to the Bush team's spiking the FBI investigation of the bin Laden family and the secret State Department plans for post war Iraq. Based on Palast's hard-hitting investigative reports for the BBC, the UK's Guardian and Observer newspapers, and his book The Best Democracy Money Can Buy. Contains exclusive extras, interactive documents and montage art by Winston Smith. 60 min. (DVD) $15.00.

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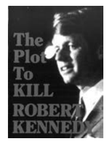

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10 Things Monsanto Does Not Want You to Know

What's wrong with Genetic Engineering?

Genetic engineering refers to a set of technologies used to change the genetic makeup of cells and move genes across species boundaries to produce novel organisms. Once released, these genetically modified organisms (GMOs) can easily spread and interbreed with other organisms, and they are virtually impossible to recall back to the laboratory.

Monsanto provides roughly 90% of GMO seeds in the world. These seeds have been genetically modified to produce their own pesticide or to survive repeated spraying of Monsanto's toxic herbicide Roundup. Monsanto's GMOs are not designed to increase yields to feed the world, but rather to increase Monsanto's profits. Monsanto sells high-priced, patented seeds to farmers who are required to sign contracts stating that they will buy new seeds every year. And as their crops become increasingly herbicide-resistant, Monsanto sells more and more chemicals to farmers who are caught in this vicious cycle.

Due to the enormous political clout of Monsanto, the American public is being denied the right to know whether their foods are genetically engineered or not. Following is a list of 10 facts about Monsanto and GMOs, and how they can adversely affect your health, local farmers, and the planet.

1 No GMO Labeling Laws in the US

More than 70% of processed foods in the US contain GMO ingredients. Yet because Monsanto has fought hard to prevent labeling laws in the US, this information is kept from consumers. The US is the only developed country in the world that does not have mandatory GMO labeling laws – even though more than 62 other countries, including Japan, China, Korea, Australia, New Zealand and the entire European Union, have either banned GMOs or have laws requiring mandatory labeling.

2 Lack of Adequate Safety Testing

In May 1992, Vice President Dan Quayle announced the FDA's consumer right-to-know policy which stated that GMO foods need not be labeled nor safety-tested. Meanwhile, prominent scientists such as Arpad Pusztai and Gilles-Eric Seralini have publicized alarming research revealing severe damage to animals fed GMO foods.

3 Monsanto Puts Small Farmers out of Business

Percy Schmeiser is a Canadian farmer whose canola fields were contaminated with Monsanto's Roundup Ready Canola by pollen from a nearby GMO farm. Monsanto successfully argued in a lawsuit that Schmeiser violated the company's patent rights, and tried to force Schmeiser to pay hundreds of thousands of dollars in damages. This type of biotech bullying is happening all over North America.

4 Monsanto Products Pollute the Developing World

According to plant pathologist Don Huber, glyphosate, the active ingredient in Monsanto's Roundup, changes soil ecology, making plants susceptible to diseases that could eventually cause diseases in humans. Glyphosate kills many bacteria, giving other bacteria a competitive advantage. It also makes plants highly susceptible to soil borne diseases. With increasing use of glyphosate, Huber said a number of plant pathogens are "emerging" or "re-emerging, " including a number of fusarium and root rot diseases. At the same time that diseases are increasing, glyphosate has a negative effect on a number of beneficial soil organisms, including those that fix nitrogen, mycorrhizae, plant growth promoting organisms and earthworms. Huber's allegations of the impact of glyphosate in soil sterility echo those of Elaine Ingham, a soil ecologist with the Rodale Institute.

5 Monsanto in Bed with Government Regulators

A revolving door exists between Monsanto and US regulatory and judicial bodies making key decisions. Justice Clarence Thomas, a former Monsanto lawyer, was the one who wrote the majority opinion on a key Monsanto case. Michael Taylor once worked for the FDA, later represented Monsanto as a lawyer, then returned as the FDA's Deputy Commissioner for Policy when rBGH, a growth hormone used to make dairy cows produce more milk, was granted approval.

6 Monsanto Guilty of False Advertising

France's highest court ruled in 2009 that Monsanto had lied about the safety of its weed killer Roundup. The court confirmed an earlier judgment that Monsanto had falsely advertised its herbicide as "biodegradable".

7 Consumers Reject Bovine Growth Hormone

In the wake of mass consumer pressure, major retailers such as Safeway, Publix, Wal-Mart, and Kroger banned store brand milk products containing Monsanto's controversial genetically engineered hormone rBGH. Starbucks, under pressure from the OCA and our allies, has likewise banned rBGH milk.

8 GMO Crops Do Not Increase Yields

A major UN/World Bank-sponsored report compiled by 400 scientists and endorsed by 58 countries concluded that GM crops have little to offer to the challenges of poverty, hunger, and climate change. Better alternatives are available. The report championed organic farming as the sustainable way forward for developing countries.

9 Monsanto Controls US Soy Market

In 1996, when Monsanto began selling Roundup Ready soybeans, only 2% of soybeans in the US contained their patented gene. By 2008, over 90% of soybeans in the US contained Monsanto's gene.

10 GMO Foods May Lead to Food Allergies

In March 1999, UK researchers at the York Laboratory were alarmed to discover that reactions to soy had skyrocketed by 50% over the previous year. Genetically modified soy had recently entered the UK from US imports and the soy used in the study was largely GM.

MILLIONS AGAINST MONSANTO

HERE'S WHAT YOU CAN DO

- **Read the latest news, join in on Action Alerts, and sign up for OCA's free newsletter at *OrganicConsumers.org***
- **Buy organic foods at your local health food store, co-op or farmers' market.**
- **Avoid processed foods, especially those containing corn, soy, cottonseed oil and canola, canola and sugar beet sugar unless they are organically certified.**
- **Call or send a letter to your public officials. Tell them to support labeling and safety testing of GMOs and subsidies to help family farmers make the transition to organic.**
- **Support local efforts to pass GMO labeling legislation. Join the Right to Know GMO Coalition of States. *righttoknow-gmo.org.***
- **Join the Traitor Brands Boycott and pledge to boycott products whose parent companies poured millions into defeating Prop 37, the CA GMO Labeling Initiative. *orgcns.org/SzMFdi.***

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